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ABSTRACT

This theme issue of the serial "Educational Foundations" contains four articles devoted to the topic of "Sociopolitical Analyses." In "An Interview with Peter L. McLaren," Mary Leach presented the views of Peter L. McLaren on topics of local and national discourses, values, and the politics of difference. Landon E. Beyer's "Educational Studies and the Liberal Arts: Cultural Politics and Institutional Change" outlined the conceptual orientation to educational studies that formed the basis for efforts at institutional change and explored the nature of the institutional, bureaucratic, and cultural constraints to proposals. In "Sociopolitical Influences on Federal Government Funding of Gifted and Talented and Bilingual Education Programs," Ursula Casanova and Sheila Chavez examined the influence of various socio-political factors on government policies in federal programs for the gifted and talented and those for bilingual education and suggested that sociopolitical pressures, rather than pedagogical interests, have shaped the evolution of the two programs. In "The Challenge of Peace Education: Do Our Efforts Make a Difference?," Ian M. Harris looked at the impact of peace studies courses upon 108 students at the college and university level. Results on attitudes and beliefs were inconclusive, interest in peace studies were wide ranging in variety, and behavior changed in peaceful directions after taking a peace studies course. Appendix A includes the instrument used in the study. (CK)

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Editorial Overview

Educational Foundations seeks to help fulfill the stated mission of the American Educational Studies Association to enhance scholarship in and among the educational foundations disciplines by providing a vehicle for publication of articles and essays which feature analysis of the foundations, of foundations methodology, of applications of such methodology to key issues of the day, and of significant research which evolves from and unifies the foundations disciplines, all focusing on the interdisciplinary nature of the educational foundations fields.

Educational Foundations seeks articles and essays in four primary areas:

1. Exposition on the nature of the educational foundations--essays exploring the foundations, highlighting definition, interrelationships, strengths, difficulties, and other aspects of the combined fields.

2. Application of the foundations disciplines to an issue of significance--collections of articles around a specified theme, bringing to bear the nature of the various foundations disciplines on such themes. Information concerning themes for future issues of the journal may be obtained from the co-editors.

3. Methodology--articles exploring methodological issues of the foundations fields, stressing similarities and differences among the disciplines.

4. Research--articles describing or reporting on new research in the foundations fields, with emphasis on interdisciplinary aspects of such research.

Contributions to ***Educational Foundations*** are solicited from members of the American Educational Studies Association as well as from all other scholars in the foundations of education and related fields of study. While the journal is open to submissions from all interested scholars, the standards for review and acceptance of articles and essays are stringent. Submissions should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with a suggested length of 25-30 doubled-spaced pages, including an abstract, and be sent in quadruplicate to: Bonnie Auletta, Managing Editor, ***Educational Foundations***, Foundations of Education Office, Fedor Hall, Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio 44555. When an article is accepted, authors are asked to submit the final version as an ascii textfile on computer disk.

Introduction: A Transition

This issue of ***Educational Foundations*** continues the transition of the journal to new editors and editorial offices. As the new editors, we again extend our thanks and appreciation to Kathryn M. Borman and Patricia O'Reilly, the previous editors at the University of Cincinnati, and to Felecia M. Briscoe, the editorial assistant at Cincinnati, for their years of service to the journal. Their mark on the journal remains, both literally and figuratively. This editorial team directed ***Educational Foundations*** through a crucial phase of its existence, and some of the manuscripts in this issue were ushered through the review process by Felecia, Kathy, and Patricia.

We are looking forward to moving ***Educational Foundations*** through its next phase of growth. We have adopted the theme of "Equity" for our first year of work with the journal and actively solicit manuscripts that explore themes of equity from historical, sociological, political, anthropological, economic, and philosophical perspectives. We are also planning a new look for the winter issue, the first issue that will fully represent the work of the new editors.

Manuscripts submitted for review to ***Educational Foundations*** should be sent to the following:

Bonnie Auletta, Managing Editor
Educational Foundations
Foundations of Education
Fedor Hall
Youngstown State University
410 Wick Avenue
Youngstown, OH 44555

We request that four copies of the manuscript (two blind) and an abstract be sent and that referencing be according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Finally, we would like to extend our thanks to the Youngstown State University Foundation and its director, C. Reid Schmutz, for their generous commitment to support the journal financially for the next three years. Their enthusiasm for this endeavor is matched only by our own.

--***Co-Editors***:
Jane Van Galen
James Pusch
William T. Pink
Robert Lowe

Mary Leach is a professor in the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership, College of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus. *This interview with Peter L. McLaren, renowned scholar-in-residence and director of the Center for Education and Cultural Studies, School of Education, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, was conducted in Columbus in the fall of 1990 as part of the Eminent Scholars Program of The Ohio State University. McLaren expresses thanks to Carol Lyons of The Ohio State University and to the editors of* Educational Foundations *for permitting him to make some editorial adjustments to the interview prior to publication.*

An Interview with Peter L. McLaren

By Mary Leach

Introduction

Peter L. McLaren is Renowned Scholar-in-Residence and Director of the Center for Education and Cultural Studies, School of Education, Miami University of Ohio. He is also Associate Professor of Educational Leadership and co-editor with Henry Giroux of the publication series "Teacher Empowerment and School Reform" for the State University of New York Press.

McLaren received his undergraduate degree in English Literature from Waterloo University, his undergraduate degree in education from The University of Toronto, his master's degree from Brock University in curriculum theory, and his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in curriculum and instruction at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Formerly an elementary classroom teacher in grades 2 through 6 in Canada, McLaren has since received many awards and distinctions, such as being elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Commerce, Alumni Scholar, and winner of the 1989 Ameri-

can Educational Studies Association Critic's Choice Award for his *Life in Schools*, one of the outstanding books in educational studies in recent years.

Included among McLaren's publications are books, chapters in books, scholarly articles, essay reviews, scholarly reviews, journal articles, and book and film reviews. He lectures internationally and has participated in seminars on his work in Mexico, Argentine, Brazil, and Poland. A selected list of Dr. McLaren's publications follows this interview.

The Interview

Leach: *It seems to me that it would be appropriate to start with asking Peter about the direction of his newer work. Many of you have read Peter's article on critical literacy that he wrote for the* Harvard Educational Review *in 1988. We know a lot has gone on since 1988, and a lot has gone on with Peter and Peter's scholarship since then. Perhaps we can begin by listening to some of the new directions that you, Peter, have taken in your scholarship, particularly with a focus on literacy or critical pedagogy.*

McLaren: My work actually has taken a number of new directions lately. This is partly due to the ethical demands made upon me as a teacher in the face of the current postmodern crisis of meaning and the unsuspecting dogmatism or—on the contrary—the ethical relativism that has accompanied this crisis. I would prefer to describe myself not as an interdisciplinary scholar, but as a transdisciplinary scholar, because I think the term "transdisciplinary" situates the concept of academic domains in a discourse that emphasizes their historical, social, and geopolitical location or constitutiveness. Transdisciplinary scholarship poses considerable challenges, because when you draw from so many different disciplinary terrains it's very hard to articulate critical pedagogy in a way that is accessible to educators unfamiliar with current theoretical trajectories in the social sciences—such as critical hermeneutics, post-structuralism, or cultural studies—and their specialized vocabularies. I would say that it's difficult but not impossible.

Let me give you, in a very broad sweep, what has interested me in the last few years, and where my intellectual co-ordinates might be found. I began as a cultural anthropologist, or what some people term a symbolic anthropologist. My early work was primarily ethnographic, and culminated in an ethnographic study of a Catholic school in Toronto, Canada. At that time, I was working within a wide theoretical purvue and trying to analyze various discourses that could enable me to understand the political linkages among the textual strategies and concrete practices used in classroom pedagogies, the visual catechism of symbols in the school, such as crucifixes, flags, emblems, and the like, and larger economies of power and privilege that existed in the wider social formation. Working more within a Levi-Straussian, and (Victor) Turnerian perspective, I soon found that the question of how knowledge is discursively produced and also engaged "affectively"

and non-discursively by individuals was not answered adequately. So my more recent work has moved in the direction of post-structuralist studies, particularly those strands of post-structuralism that are politically enabling rather than politically disabling, such as forms of feminist post-structuralism and work being done on historical agency by people like Stanley Aronowitz, Larry Grossberg, Stuart Hall, bell hooks, Henry Giroux, Gloria Anzaldua, and others. Feminist post-structuralism is a discourse that I find particularly interesting and politically important. I'm trying to understand the complex process by which identities are constructed. I'm also exploring the political linkages among identity, subjectivity and human agency and how they are imbricated with circuits of "affective" or emotional and sensuous investment. In other words, what accounts for certain knowledges being pleasurable and other knowledges not pleasurable at all.

I'm also interested in how knowledge gets taken up within particular identity formations geopolitically. For instance, there is something about the current shift towards forms of global capitalism that has significant impact on how we, as westerners, construct our conceptions of marginalized and subaltern groups. I'm concerned with how marginalized groups are constructed by both indigenous structures of domination and intellectuals and researchers who work from the standpoint of metropolitan centers of the world, particularly in North America and the United States. I am very interested in subaltern resistance and the possibility of subaltern agency. So some of my work examines the concept of the global subject. Do you recall when Madonna did that video commercial for Pepsi, "Like a Prayer," which was set up to draw a lot of attention to her new "Like a Prayer" album? That commercial was picked up by millions of people all around the world before it was dropped due to public controversy. So I began examining the concept of the global teenager, or global consumer/subject. What kind of normative identity structures are being created here? What is Madonna's cross-cultural appeal? This is a very exploratory project for me right now, and I can't speak with the kind of authority that I would like to because the work is still in progress. But much of my current work is devoted to the notion of identity as an effect of particular discursive and affective economies. That is, economies of capitalist production, economies of affect (i.e., how our desiring maps or our mattering maps are constructed), and also discursive and textual economies and how they are all related.

I'm interested, in other words, in the concept of what you might call "modes of subjectivity." That is to say, I'm trying to tease out the sociopolitical linkages between forms of knowledge in popular culture and forms of knowledge within disciplinary trajectories within the academy, and how both of these relate to identities that students construct as they take up or engage these modes or structures of meaning. And it's a very difficult and problematic issue. We take individual positions as agents but within options that have been socially circumscribed. There are no **rules** of identity—only **strategies**. Agency is always a translation of the

collective symbolic social system. The social structure is always folded into our desires so that we display desires we don't want to have—as James Donald points out. Grossberg's work, and that of Homi Bhabha and Terry Eagleton, have been very instructive for me. And for me this issue really is connected to the whole notion of literacy and what it means to be literate, what it means to be literate in a postmodern and postcolonial world.

It has a significant bearing on a question like citizenship. What does it mean to be an active, critical, literate citizen? What is the relationship between how we are positioned as consumers within popular culture and the identities we choose to assume in various public spheres? How does our investment in popular culture influence the way young people react to schooling, to dominant curricula, to dominant forms of pedagogy? And I'm very interested in the way the political New Right (especially under the Bush administration) has managed to conflate notions of identity, i.e., notions of citizenship, notions of nationalism, and notions of family, conflating them with respect to their definition of what it means to be a productive North American citizen. And so the New Right actually has been able to use both a nationalist discourse and local discourses to play off each other in a very effective way. The political right understands the significance of postmodern literacies much better than the left.

Leach: *Could you give an instance of what you're talking about when you point to nationalist and local discourses?*

McLaren: I'll try to be more specific, Mary. For instance, I think that the left has retreated from concepts such as patriotism, from ideals such as family and community. I think the left has felt that those terms, in and of themselves, have been appropriated so significantly by the right that the left has avoided addressing questions of what it means to be a citizen in the postmodern era. I think progressive teachers should reclaim these notions because they have a great emotional appeal as well as social significance. But I think we should reinterpret their meanings and resituate and reinscribe the terms within a progressive agenda. Maybe true patriotism means not joining the military and going to war merely for oil or to impose a "new world order" in certain regions of the globe. The concept of the family needs to be rethought along less patriarchial, racist, colonialist, and homophobic lines. In effect, the right has co-opted the discourses of patriotism and family life.

Leach: *Could you talk a little about how they have done this?*

McLaren: I think very effectively through their particular forms of ethical address, their moral appeals, and their use of the media. Let me give you an example. A friend of mine was at a conference a few years ago. He's a professor at Brock University in Canada. The conference was for school principals. And Joe Clark, the former principal from Patterson, New Jersey, the one they made the movie *Lean On Me* about, was the keynote speaker. And my friend was also a major speaker at the conference. Clark got up in front of hundreds of principals and

basically he talked about the need for black people in the United States to develop a new version of what it means to be black. He apparently denigrated black people by urging them to escape what he refers to as their "deviant and pathological" histories. He told the audience, apparently, that he couldn't even find a decent husband for his daughter because there weren't enough good black males available. And then he went on to talk about how so many black kids are deviants and can't be reformed—that they need to be expelled from school so that the decent kids can learn. If you've heard Clark, I think you know where he's coming from. He got a standing ovation from the many principals in the audience. And my friend was quite alarmed and was, by his reckoning, the only person in the auditorium who didn't stand and cheer Clark. My friend gave his talk sometime after Clark. He also got a tremendous response from the same group and of course he was giving quite a different message. Now my friend is by no means a trenchant leftist educator, but he certainly was in overwhelming opposition to most—if not all—of what Clark said.

Leach: *Do you believe that the people in the audience realized that they were cheering differing views?*

McLaren: I don't know if they did. My friend was perplexed and so he undertook a little independent survey. He jokes that it was a "micro-ethnography." It included short interviews with two dozen people, asking them: "Why did you applaud? Why did you give Clark a standing ovation?" Basically, the response was, "Well, I really didn't agree with anything he had to say, but I sure liked his style." The same phenomenon is at work, I believe, with audience reaction to Oliver North. When I'm talking about notions of patriotism (with the troops who recently went to Iraq, for instance) I'm talking about it as a discursive construction and an affective investment. When I talk about patriotism with some of my graduate and undergraduate students, the person of North is often invoked by them in a very favorable light. People like Ollie's style. They liked the fact that he really believed in something—and that apparently he still does. **What** he believes is secondary to the **sincerity that he purportedly feels when articulating those beliefs**. The public likes that.

Basically, I think the politics of style is important, and this brings us into the whole area of what it means to be "media literate." I call media literacies (I use the plural here because I am referring to print, to television, to film, to photographic images) postmodern literacies. And postmodern literacies affect us, often without our knowledge. They are a form of "perpetual pedagogy" that teach us certain moral sentiments and help to constitute us ideologically so that we believe we have freely "chosen" particular beliefs because they "make sense" to us through our faculties of reason. Of course, such ideas have been constructed within particular discourses of power and privilege. People find themselves compelled, drawn by the media. They find themselves constructing what Grossberg calls "affective economies" when they engage images that ideologically they find repulsive,

offensive, or appealing. For example, when we do a kind of ideology critique of some of the MTV programs, which we often do, my students are quite impressive in breaking them down in terms of militarism, sexism, racism, commodity fetishism, etc. They can do that with a sense of expertise, but yet they find themselves affectively engaged by the images they are judging to be offensive. They are compelled by them. And so what I'm trying to do in my work on literacy, critical literacy, is to try to talk about what I would call the politics of representation and its link to the construction of pleasure, its organization as "affective economies" or "mattering maps" as Grossberg calls them.

Leach: *Let me ask you to stop here for a minute for a question. Is it merely a matter of affect or style—the appeal of images and associated feelings—or is it the tension created by contradictory values we hold simultaneously? How do we appreciate values of loyalty, sincerity, and courage when they are part of a message we know to be problematic (at best) with regard to other values we hold dear?*

McLaren: That's the power of it. One is located in a relation of contradiction. There is always a partial truth to these discourses. They're not monolithically oppressive. If they were monolithically oppressive—if they weren't in some way dangerous in their heterogeneity—it would be easy. But I think what happens is that viewers or readers of these media texts get positioned in contradictory ways. Take, for example, friends that I have on the left who privately confide to me that they watch *Rambo* and they take great delight in it. What they do is to hermeneutically "bracket" their viewing of this film by admitting to its ideological offensiveness in that it promotes a kind of valorization of the male subject—the aggressor or phallomilitary warrior citizen. They recognize the colonizer and the imperialist, and yet they can bracket off those aspects of the movie—what they would consider its contaminating ideological affects. And then they can watch purely for the pleasure of the revenge scenario. It's problematic and it's very difficult, but I think that's how we often read cultural texts. I think, along with Paulo Freire, that we read the world before we read the word. I think that these aren't easy questions to raise with students, let alone answer. Because what it tells us is that we're always already complicitous with the discourses in which we engage. But at least that recognition is a step to overcome the destructive social effects of such complicitousness.

Leach: *Let's take that a little bit further. Once we recognize our own complicity, what path can we take? I was struck by your review of the Macedo book, when at the end you praised the authors for offering an ethical stance. Now if it is the case that we are positioned with a number of contradictory values at stake, I'm interested in how it is that we justify certain values that somehow appeal to us. How do Macedo and Freire justify their ethical imperative? Or, are they obliged to?*

McLaren: It's an important question, Mary. One of the things that I'm trying

to work through is the role of solidarity as being a discursive practice that takes precedence over consensus. This issue ties into the whole notion of narrative identity in which ethics takes precedence over epistemology. For instance, as Richard Kearney says, before you ask the question, "Who are you?", which is profoundly a modernist epistemological question, you want to ask the question, "Where are you?" The latter is a postmodern question, and the answer is, I hope, **I'm here and I'm here for you**. That's also an ethical question. I'm here in solidarity **with** you; **for** you. You don't take an ethical stand surrounding other people only after you've checked their identity papers first. Solidarity with others comes first. Then you can get into the tough issues surrounding identity politics related to race, class, and gender. But our unconditional solidarity with the oppressed comes first.

To use a phrase from Emmanuel Levinas, our ethical relation to the other is ultimately prior to our ontological relation to ourselves—or the totality of things which we call the world. And that gets us into problematic considerations such as: Should teachers speak **for** others or create conditions for others to speak **for themselves**? Should teachers be asking permission to narrate **someone else's life**? Who speaks for whom, under what conditions, and in whose interests? This ties into all sorts of very important debates going on within feminist theory. And as people who have been reading my work over the years are aware, it's very much informed by feminist theory and non-Cartesian concepts of agency. That's why I'm raising the questions: Are we obliged to speak for those who can't speak for themselves? Or is this another form of colonization? Is this another form of imperialism? These are all important issues that are being debated right now.

But, as a kind of general axiom, I think that teachers should say to their students: I'm here for you in the sense that I'm here as a **co-sufferer** and as a **co-celebrant**. I can't always suffer like you suffer. I can't always identify with what you identify with. But I am here for you despite the fact that I may be critical of some of the things that you do. Then, once you've established solidarity, you can ask the epistemological question: "Who are you?" You can answer the epistemological question using all sorts of disciplinary trajectories—Freud, Jung, existentialism, phenomenology, critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, and the like.

Do you want to use a post-structuralist discourse or a structuralist discourse when you describe who you are or what you desire to become? I'm trying to examine how narratives undergird our curricula and our concepts of identity and shape our discursive and material engagements with everyday life. I examine how they've become colonized by Western, androcentric, Eurocentric, white male views of subjectivity. Where some excellent counter-narratives are being developed are in places like Peru, Brazil, and Argentina, in the form of writings of Third World theologians and novelists. However, I certainly think it's difficult to create counter-narratives that escape the master-slave dichotomy—that escape the referentiality of the discourse of the colonizer.

Leach: *Is it difficult or impossible?*

McLaren: I think right now it **seems** as if it's impossible

Leach: *I don't mean that as a practical question. I mean is it possible to construct a general theory that can serve us here?*

McLaren: Theoretically, no. Let me give you an example. Actually, I'm trying to speak to this idea in my new work. Nietzsche talks about the slave and the noble. The noble is in possession of the legitimating discourses that define what is good and what is bad. Fanon also talks about this and so does Bhabha. The noble begins to articulate a particular discourse of what the good life is and what citizens should be like. The slave decides to contest or resist the discourse of the master by constructing a counter-discourse, but this amounts to little more than reversing the binary opposition set up by the noble, so the indexicality of that binary opposition remains the same. In this way, the resistance set in train by the oppressed is reduced to just another form of the logic of domination. So the question becomes: How does one step outside dominant discourses in order to create oppositional discourses?

What it says to me is that we must always interrogate the presuppositions which shape our own theories of liberation or theories of emancipation. I'm not exactly sure of how to step out of those discourses, because in some way language is always populated with other people's meanings. We can never escape from the discourse of ontology and politics entirely even when we deconstruct these discourses. All we can do is perhaps be very resistant to how our language of emancipation is in fact colonized by antecedents and referents which need to be stepped outside of even if we only get one foot outside. You can identify with a discourse or you can disidentify with a discourse, and I think disidentifying with the discourse means stepping outside of the referential boundaries of that discourse, as Michel Pecheux has noted.

But I think this is a question that's really evaluative, because not **everything** about dominant social, political, and cultural discourses is disabling. I don't want to throw out the enlightenment project of rationality totally. There are some redeeming features of Western culture, after all, but not nearly as many as Diane Ravitch believes. I don't want to throw out the Enlightenment project entirely because I don't think it's over yet. But I do want to be able to identify what those discourses and attendant social practices are that are disabling and what are recoverable.

To answer your question more specifically, I can only use words by Nancy Fraser if you'll permit me to summarize some of her ideas here. I think Fraser's *Unruly Practices* will help answer your question. Fraser asks the following about deciding which social practices are oppressive and which are recoverable: How do you make a choice among values? One needs to be able to adjucate among rival interpretations about what constitutes critical citizenry and critical literacy. What we need is an interpretative justification of people's needs and this means, according to Fraser, examining the inclusivity and the exclusivity of rival

interpretations, including their hierarchical and egalitarian aspects. She says that the consequences should also be taken into consideration by comparing alternative, distributive outcomes of rival interpretations. For instance, would widespread acceptance of some given interpretation of a social need disadvantage some groups of people and advantage others? Does the interpretation conform to rather than challenge societal patterns of dominance and subordination? Are rival chains of in-order-to relations to which competing needs interpretations belong more or less respectful, as opposed to transgressive of, ideological boundaries that delimit "separate spheres" and thereby rationalize inequality? Basically I think what Fraser is calling for is a kind of situational ethics.

There seems to be a dominant trend now within critical theory of valorizing the "local knowledge" of indigenous peoples—to quote a title of one of Clifford Geertz's books. There seems to be a focus on the specific. That's what post-structuralism seems to focus on: the particular. It occurs in such a way that I think it oftentimes turns out to be a form of "militant particularism," or what Steve Best calls a "tyranny of the specific," because one must in this view always be attentive to constructing broad coalitions on the basis of specific interests, which is very difficult. A politics opposed to grand narratives of the white western male and opposed to the universalizing of particular values is important. Yet, at the same time, examining specific instances and local instances of oppression and suffering must not rule out an ethical imperative that can serve the function of what I call a "guiding referent."

Guiding referents, or metacritical narratives (as opposed to Master narratives), point towards a **provisional** Utopia. I'm not calling for a **categorical** Utopia. A categorical Utopia is a kind of blueprint. It's saying "This is the way the world should be." That has a tendency to slide over to a form of fascism. Categorical Utopias are founded on Master narratives. A provisional Utopia, on the other hand, says "Now at this present historical juncture here's where I think we should go." Provisional Utopias point to the importance of meta-narratives; analyzing the interests served by existing narratives and developing narratives of justice and liberation. Meta-narratives, as Peter Murphy points out, are interested in understanding society as a totality. That's a lot different than charting out a step-by-step plan for the way society should be constituted. We need some kind of totalizing narrative to give us a direction, even if it's articulated as a provisional, partial Utopia. Sometimes this attention to the specific and the local issue can transform itself into a form of tyranny—just like Master narratives can be a form of tyranny. I'm thinking of essentialist politics here—a form of separatism and self-righteous purity based on difference.

Leach: *How do you get to the provisional blueprint? Who does that?*

McLaren: In the sphere of education, I think many of us who work within the critical tradition are struggling in a number of different arenas. One is the academic journals. One is in our classrooms with graduate students and undergraduate

students in forging a new critical vernacular, a new language of and for liberation, which will have consequences for the way we teach. Some of us work in specific community struggles and in specific school sites. There are many different sites where struggle needs to occur, including state legislatures, and federal, state, and local educational bureaucracies. I would hate to think that social transformation is something that's going to happen in the academy alone. But that shouldn't mean we denigrate intellectual work. It is elitist to assume the closer you are in physical proximity to the oppressed, the more "authentic" your struggle for liberation will be. The picture that I see is many of us fighting in many different arenas that encompass a variety of different theoretical trajectories, with teachers and students critically appropriating from those discourses in the contextual specificity of their communities and their classrooms and being able to articulate from **their own vantage point** what provisional Utopia might be best at that particular historical moment.

Leach: *I don't know if that answers what I'm trying to get at. Suppose we disagree about what Utopia is. How do we reach an agreement? If I come up with a different provisional Utopia from the one that you come up with, how do we reconcile this?*

McLaren: I don't know that there **needs** to be a reconciliation or consensus in the common usage of the term. "Consensus" is a liberal notion I reject in favor of "solidarity." I think the whole notion that there **needs** to be a consensus might be buying into a kind of logic that in fact undercuts the emancipatory potential of liberatory education. But I do agree we need to work for a common ground of understanding. The notion of liberal pluralism can be very disabling. It's predicated on the centrist concept of "let's hear the rival interpretations on the right and on the left." We take a little bit of this, take a little bit of that, and we assume the centrist position or the middle ground. But where is this middle, neutral place from which we purport to adjudicate what is left and what is right? It doesn't exist.

I think there's a real danger in that form of liberal pluralism, because it really abstracts specificity from particular issues. It is a form of epistemological pluralism that assumes the world is really the same underneath, only named differently or given different "glosses" by various groups. But the world is not pre-ontologically available to us for our particular reading of it. That's a neo-positivist assumption. Our readings and experiences and histories don't reflect the world, they are constitutive of it. For instance, some educators talk about consensus like Habermas talks about ideal speech situations. However, I don't think you can have ideal speech situations until people are positioned within the economics of everyday life in ways that are symmetrical. I want to talk about equality of power relationships before I talk about what the ideal speech community is.

You articulated a hypothetical question: "Suppose I had a different provisional Utopia than you did." I'd need to have more information. What's the context? What are we talking about? Are we talking about a particular school site?

Are we talking about a particular community site? What are the issues? Who are the people that live there? I'd need to know more about the contextual specificity of the social relations you are trying to influence in an enabling way. How are you trying to eliminate domination in the relations between pluralistic communities?

Leach: *So much for processes, but what about the question about whether it's theoretically possible or impossible? And reconciliation—I think you took that notion much too narrowly. But what I am getting at is that some time at the end of what you said you retreated from the more generalist notion, the more universal that I thought you were headed for in the first part. You got back to the specifics.*

McLaren: Eagleton does a beautiful job of articulating the specific in relation to the universal. There's always a tension between the universal and the specific. Let's say that I uphold the right of individuals to participate in everyday life in a way that lays claim to a form of self-autonomy. Or I support the notion that everyone has a right to pursue their lives according to what they perceive to be just. Now, as a universal statement that's fine, but the notion that there exists a universal right for people to pursue their own autonomy or to engage in autonomous social relations only makes sense in the concrete particularity of everyday life, because that's where we are situated concretely in social relations. That's where life is lived. There's always dialectical tension between the global and the local.

My metadiscourse is the "narrative of emancipation and freedom," and I want to use this as a referent for what I do in the classroom and outside of it, but in a way that seeks to understand society as a totality and how different discourses collide or exist in relation to each other. Murphy talks about this. A metadiscourse needs to be unifying without dominating. So that as a teacher I want to ask myself the extent to which social relations in my classroom are oppressive, are racist, are sexist., are xenophobic or homophobic. I would want to know if those social relations which I'm a part of, that I'm complicitous in creating, are excluding or silencing particular groups or individuals.

Leach: *I'm not sure that I see that that is the conflict between the provisional generalization in the specific situation.*

McLaren: What I'm saying is that you need to ground your provisional Utopia in a way that suggests that society should be non-sexist, non-racist, non-exploitative, and more compassionate and loving. And social relationships and modes of sociality should be constructed that do not fall prey to a totalizing logic that defines exploitation, racism, sexism, and love the same way for every context. In other words, we need universal principles that do not universalize experience, so that everyone is supposed to share the same meanings if they are white, black, male, female, and so on. A metadiscourse or liberating narrative cannot essentialize or experience or place experience in the thralldom of a totalizing logic. I think this idea first struck me in hooks's book, *Talking Back*. If I had a choice between being a great teacher in terms of my classroom technique—my understanding of students developmentally and epistemologically—or of giving students a narrative of

freedom and social justice, I would choose the latter. Both, however, are important. I think that that sense of political self-disclosure is very important in the classroom. I make no bones about where I stand on issues with students, and I think I'm very explicit about where I stand on these issues. I think the question becomes: How can your discourse of self-disclosure get produced within a classroom context so that it does not become a form of ideological tyranny, and I think that this is where the pedagogical issue becomes very important. How do we promote authority without authoritarianism? How do we teach without silencing students or indoctrinating them? Whether we're in classrooms in public schools or elementary schools, the whole notion of specificity, the politics of separatism, and the politics of colonialism is often played out with a vengeance.

For instance, one cultural, political, and historical phenomenon that I'm trying to wrestle with is Afrocentrism. I have a black Muslim student from Washington who is working with me on a dissertation about Afrocentrism. She is really educating me about this issue. She has really opened my eyes to the needs of the black community in cities like Washington and elsewhere. You know in New York City there's a school that exists exclusively for black males. The assumption is that the family structure of black youth is such that they've basically become female-led households. The males don't have access to male role models. Historically, we're at a point in which groups that have been so brutally marginalized can no longer wait for larger structural inequalities to be redressed. They feel they need these kinds of institutions, not as something that they would want as a model for the entire educational system, but as contingently necessary.

There is a college where the authorities tried to make it co-ed and the female students said no: We know what happens when men come into the classrooms. We know that female voices often get silenced. We know it's often not intentional on the part of males, but we know that female voices will frequently be co-opted through the voice of patriarchy. I understand why women feel that keeping males out of the school might be necessary at this particular historical moment. I teach at Miami University. It's basically a school for white Anglos. We don't call it a form of separatism **but that's how the system works**. Naturally, I would **prefer** identities to be constructed around a politics of difference.

While I'm against modelling social sites after any form of centrism—androcentrism, phallocentrism, ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, and so on—one still has to look at these alternative school sites contextually in terms of the relations of power that exist and that continue to oppress minorities and women. Would Afrocentrism exist if we had a just society? Could any "centrism" exist or would all sites be multicentered and hybridized? We need to understand why these "subaltern counterpublics" are arising at this point in our histories. Would we need any form of "centrism" if minority groups were not continually being politically displaced? Identity formation is important, but I believe that coalition politics are best built around issues—on what we can do for each other rather than **what we**

are. Grossberg is on target on this issue. We need to build our collective strategies around the ethical question of how we can struggle together while respecting our various identities. We don't need a common culture. Rather, I'm in favor of constructing a common ground of understanding and presently this common ground is colonized by the invisible marker of whiteness and male hegemony. We need to struggle against this.

Leach: *Is this what you mean by the politics of difference?*

McLaren: I do. I call it the politics of difference. I think the way we situate and articulate differences is very important, and of course I also understand how difference always privileges particular groups over others in relation to economies of power and privilege in society. So that when I say I want my voice to be heard, I know that my voice by virtue of my race and class and gender is heard more often than others. For me to suggest that all forms of separatism are bad in every instance is not to be attentive enough to the larger relations of power that have already privileged an invisible form of separatism and politics of exclusion in which I'm complicitous—the academy, for instance.

And yet, at the same time, I want to be part of the struggle for a politics of difference that moves outside of identity politics and embraces a type of **phronesis**, which is the capacity to identify and discriminate and to choose among rival discourses and strategies. The problem with identity politics is that identity politics tends to erase political commitment by basing its politics on personal experience. A politics of difference must begin with experience, but must ultimately transcend its local identity and partiality, not in a universal or transcendental way, but in what I call a practico-strategic way.

Leach: *I was just going to ask you to say more about what we lose if we take the position that we are* ***always*** *complicitous, that there is no pure space, that we can't get "outside" of our positions except through acts of will? Do we give up too much of our own authority? Do we need more work on the legitimization of authority here?*

McLaren: I think Giroux has written about authority in ways that are very helpful here. I don't think it's wrong to speak from a position of authority on a subject as long as you are aware of the potential disabling effects of your discourse and so long as you can be open enough to allow those effects to be interrogated by your students or by other people. The underlying reference point is not simply identity, but also commitment in solidarity and in struggle for a more just democratic sphere and for the eradication of human suffering and domination. I think that the question becomes: What are the discourses that are being constructed in your political/pedagogical space? In other words, what is giving your pedagogy its authority, and what is delegitimizing it by virtue of exclusion? So the question becomes: Are you allowing your position of authority or your relations of authority to allow particular ideologies to gather a certain historical weight which marginalizes particular groups or silences them?

I think the very fact that we try to recognize our complicitousness and situatedness in relations of power and privilege provides the grounds for a liberating praxis. It is a necessary but not sufficient condition, true. But if in fact we acknowledge that our identities are historically, culturally, and socially constructed, and linguistically constructed, and if we know that the language we use in negotiating our personal histories and in constructing our reading formations—the way we read the world and the word—is also historically, culturally, and socially located, then we can ask the question: What is it about my identity and the way I'm disposed to engage with the world that I want to change? Now there are always going to be aspects of our self-consciousness that don't get tapped. We only know about repression when it fails to work, don't we? Who knows what we don't know? But the very fact that we can pose that question I think serves as a ground for creating counterhegemonic spheres, oppositional public spheres, counterpublic spheres.

But one has to be careful that one's discourse of liberation does not fall prey to those very asymmetrical relations of power that one is speaking against, so that one does not recuperate in one's own discourse of liberation forms of tyranny and domination unconsciously. I think that the question we must raise is: Who speaks, for whom, for what purpose, and under what circumstances or conditions? There should be a preferential option for those who are dispossessed that enables them to construct the frameworks and set the course for their own liberation. **We** shouldn't be trying to enpower **them**. We should be finding a common ground for struggle. Metropolitan intellectuals should not arrogate themselves the power to speak **for** others.

Some people—including some of my critics—are saying that liberation should come from the indigenous discourses of the people who are oppressed, and that you should avoid using a colonizing discourse. I support this but I also want to point out that the problem is also that indigenous discourses are also sites of ideology, so one needs, I think, a secondary discourse that enables one to talk about one's own experience as a form of ideology. And this secondary discourse doesn't presume to escape the realm of the ideological either, but at least it can become more attentive to its disabling effects. A problem is that too often theory becomes abandoned in favor of a valorization of experience. I don't mean that we should simply adopt apolitical abstractions put forward by academics who are simply concerned with creating their own professional spaces. I mean, rather, that we should take seriously the kind of theory that takes urgent political stands on issues.

Leach: *Which is not (and cannot be) innocent either?*

McLaren: Which is never innocent in and of itself. Experience is always the site of ideology, and the language you use to discuss experience is always the site of ideology. We can't escape this. We live within the confines of ideology, even as we try to deconstruct its very foundations. That's why the metadiscourses we take up must always put ethics prior to ontology or epistemology. That's why when

we examine our theories we need to ask what the story is behind these theories. Every theory tells a story or has an incipient story within it. We know the story behind eugenics in our century. The story ended in the death camps. When the history of the next century is written, where will the story of literacy take us? The story of global citizenship? The new world order? If we look hard, and we are given the critical capacity with which to examine our stories, perhaps we can shape our historical destiny in ways other than by following the Master narratives of modernity as blindly as did our predecessors. I believe we can do better. I am confident we will do better. And that is why I try to remain loyal to hope in these troubled times.

Selected Publications by McLaren

Books:

Schooling as a Ritual Performance. London: Routledge, 1986.

Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Social Foundations of Education. Longman, 1988.

Editor with Henry Giroux, *Critical Pedagogy, the State, and Cultural Struggle*. SUNY Press, 1989.

Editor with Christine Sleeter, *Multiculturalism and Critical Pedagogy*. SUNY Press, forthcoming.

Editor with Peter Leonard, *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*. Routledge, forthcoming.

Editor with James Giarelli, *Critical Theory and Educational Research*. SUNY Press, forthcoming.

Editor with Colin Lankshear, *Critical and Cultural Literacy: Politics, Praxis, and the Postmodern*. SUNY Press, in press.

Editor, *Postmodernism, Postcolonialism and Pedagogy*. James Nicholas Publishers, Australia, in press.

Radical Pedagogy: Postcolonial Politics in a Postmodern Age. Routledge, forthcoming.

Editor with Barry Kanpol, *Education, Democracy and the Politics of Difference*. Bergin and Garvey Publishers, forthcoming.

Editor with Colin Lankshear, *Conscientization and Resistance*. Routledge, forthcoming.

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Educational Studies and the Liberal Arts: Cultural Politics and Institutional Change

By Landon E. Beyer

Introduction

I have for some time been thinking and writing about the possibilities of articulating a conceptual foundation for educational studies as a liberal field of inquiry, one that would not be tied to any programmatic commitment to teacher certification. The impetus for this has come from a number of sources: my concern that the study of education is too narrowly confined when bounded exclusively by questions related to schools and classrooms as we currently know them; the increasing specialization and technization of rules and regulations governing teacher education as propounded by state departments of education, which narrowly circumscribe what colleges and departments of education that are committed to the preparation of teachers may do; the distance that often exists between critical understandings of education and the typical practices

Landon E. Beyer is an associate professor and chair of the Department of Educational Studies, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. He presented an earlier version of this paper at the 1991 annual meeting of the American Educational Studies Association in Kansas City, Missouri.

of public schooling; the rejection of educational studies as a field in which undergraduate students could major; and an affinity between what I understand educational studies to be and at least some conceptions of what a liberal education might be. For these reasons, I decided to submit a series of proposals to faculty committees and to the faculty more generally of Knox College.

The story of this attempt to institute a program of educational studies at Knox may be instructive, I think, for a number of reasons. On the one hand, Knox has a set of historic commitments—to the abolition of slavery, to providing a liberal education for poor and working class students, to some notion of gender awareness and equity, and at least periodically to a kind of muckraking style that would incite a populist awareness of a number of social justice concerns(Muelder, 1984; Beyer, 1985)—that parallel in important respects my own orientation to educational studies. Such things make Knox a reasonable site for educational programs not limited to teacher preparation and certification, programs that seek as a primary aim to link the study of education to social awareness and action.[1] Insofar as Knox provides apparently fertile soil for the development of education as a foundational rather than technical area, it may provide an interesting case study of one effort to institutionalize such an approach to educational studies. Moreover, the only partial or tentative successes we experienced in attempting to re-orient educational studies within the particular institutional and ideological parameters of this college may, I think, be instructive for those contemplating similar changes in how colleges and universities think about our domain. In many ways, the specific events and the character of the debate that took place over our proposals are not unlike those that would likely take place at other institutions. My hope, then, is that the case study which this paper outlines may be of use to colleagues considering the role of a foundational understanding of educational studies and its place within liberal education.

The remainder of this essay is, accordingly, divided into two sections. In the next section, I outline the conceptual orientation to educational studies that formed the basis for our efforts at institutional change. Here I indicate the sort of issues, ideas, and commitments that animated our attempt to resituate the study of education as a liberal field of inquiry. As I outline more fully below, one of the problems that confounded our efforts was the difficulty faculty members had in understanding—for both institutional and ideological reasons—the nature of our conceptual framework. The last part of this paper will explore the nature of the institutional/hierarchical, bureaucratic, and cultural constraints that worked against our proposals and that in the end led to an only partially satisfactory result. This analysis of cultural and institutional politics may be useful for colleagues contemplating similar attempts to effect the creation of programs in educational studies.

The Nature of Educational Studies

Modern public systems of schooling as we know them are a relatively recent invention.[2] Begun about 150 years ago, our system of publicly supported schools developed when and as it did to serve a variety of somewhat conflicting economic, political, social, and ideological functions, many of which are still in evidence today. For example, the current concerns over cultural disintegration, a loss of moral guideposts and character, and faltering attempts to remain globally competitive—as voiced by people like Allan Bloom (1987), E. D. Hirsch (1987), William Bennett (1989), and Chester Finn (1984)—are reminiscent of the concerns of people like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and Catherine Beecher (see Cremin, 1957; Nasaw, 1979; Hoffman, 1981) who in the 19th century sought through the public schools both a moral grounding to promote social stability and economic productivity. Yet for literally centuries, people were engaged in educative activities without the particular institutional and bureaucratic trappings that our school system acquired. Formal, publicly supported institutions of schooling, that is, were preceded for centuries by social, communal, and familial interactions that sought to transmit those skills, values, beliefs, customs, and personal traits thought necessary or advantageous for that group. Suffice it to say that education as the transmission of such skills and values is a more historically encompassing practice than are the activities of schooling. To equate the field of educational studies with the domain of schooling, thus, seems something like making a category mistake.

Perhaps the most common view of educational studies is that it is but an applied area, one in which the methods of the traditional disciplines are used to address school-related problems. Further, it has been alleged that educational studies has no methodological principles or conceptual domain that it can call its own, and at best bestows a technical/vocational competence on its graduates. Unlike disciplines such as physics or philosophy or economics, which are thought of as pure disciplines with applied wings, educational studies is thought to be unbounded. It cannot, so this argument runs, claim to be examining bodily motion, or the truth value of propositions, or market behavior. Similarly, it is argued that educational studies is deficient because it does not possess a unique methodology. Experimental research designs, statistical methods, case studies, and ethnographic techniques did not originate with the study of education. They are methods developed in other areas that are sometimes useful in addressing issues and problems that we find in schools. Because educational studies is said to lack both a conceptual domain and an identifiable method, and is trapped within a kind of vocationalism, it is thought to have no coherent research program. Rather, it must take its problems from the schools as the schools provide them. Thus it is concluded that with educational studies we have an essentially technical pseudo-discipline without a method, without substance, and without coherence. It is no accident,

given this state of affairs, that educational studies within contemporary colleges and universities often exists on the periphery of academic life.

To respond to such a predicament, it is useful to note at the outset that the ideal of a discipline against which educational studies has been measured and found wanting is, in fact, an ideal, which accepted disciplines meet only to varying degrees, if at all. In some disciplines, questions about what constitutes its proper domain are themselves central issues of debate. To illustrate, the parameters of aesthetic appreciation since the decline of Formalism and the New Criticism have widened greatly. The existence, authenticity, and authoritativeness of "the canon" that ought to govern studies within English departments continues to be a matter of often heated debate, the outcome of which, for some, might spell the end of the "discipline" of literary studies as this has been understood. Among numerous other alternatives, the advocates of reader-response criticism in literature and of the counterhegemonic uses of popular culture have provided diverse and provocative understandings of the arts that alter in crucial ways what we might wish to call literary studies(see, for example, Bleich, 1978; Gitlin, 1980). To stick to these two examples, a familiarity with psychological theory, and a constructivist theory of knowledge,in the first instance; and, in the second, an understanding of critical theory, semiotics, and deconstructionism, might prove essential for an orientation to literary studies and aesthetic appreciation. Such writings have served to blur the boundaries between literature and other domains just as they have increased the diversity of subjects and activities that may illuminate the meanings of the various art forms. To restrict the study of literature to what was a rather isolated disciplinary structure now seems needlessly limiting and counterproductive.

To summarize this point, we might recall the words of George Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago, who said toward the end of the last century that:

> The different departments [of the University] are organized as departments for the convenience of administration. It is impossible in most instances to draw a sharp line of separation [among them]...the movement should be encouraged to bring the departments more closely together...(Sixteenth Quarterly Statement of the President, 1896, p. 384)
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> An arrangement of work which is formal and which has been introduced merely for the sake of convenience must not be permitted to interfere with the best interests of students or of instructors or of the University at large. (Twenty-Fifth Quarterly Statement of the President, 1898, pp. 199-200)

Educational studies is an interdisciplinary, open-textured domain. Yet this is hardly a disadvantage of our field. Indeed, the interdisciplinary nature of educational studies is a special strength, not something for which we need to apologize.

If the relationship between a discipline and a domain is problematic, so too

is the relationship between a discipline and a method. For example, not so long ago some renegade economists claimed that if we really want to know about market behavior we should try to understand, through observational studies, just how people think and behave when they act in the marketplace. A rather novel approach for "the dismal science," one can imagine the next generation of economists trading in their now outdated computers for the newest "innovation"—a credible informant—and tramping off to an Indonesian tribal village with Clifford Geertz to learn the techniques of participant-observation. The example may be far-fetched, but the point is not. There is at best a loose connection between a discipline and a method. Historians use statistical analysis, scientists use historical inquiry, and often by so doing their own disciplines are enriched.

The difficulty is not that real disciplines have a clear-cut domain and educational studies does not. Nor is it that for each discipline, except educational studies, there is a single, clear, and identifiable method. Domains are not sealed in cement and distributed one to a discipline. They are convenient ways that have been developed for marking off and thinking about the natural and cultural worlds, and these strategically convenient boundaries are always open to critique, revision, and reformulation. Disciplines may be bounded in some ways, to accomplish certain purposes, but these boundaries are best thought of as permeable, allowing for nourishment, growth, and division to take place. Similarly, a method is a tool. Its function is to serve a particular purpose, but its use and refinement may extend well beyond the purpose for which it was originally developed. A method may originate because of the problems that arise in a given discipline at a certain time, but it does not emerge with a deed of ownership that it presents to its developer. One discipline does not borrow the methods of another, because without a title of ownership, no discipline can stand in the position of lender.

Beyond considerations of domain and methodology, another significant difficulty in establishing educational studies as a discipline comes from the fact that those involved in it must serve diverse constituencies, some of which have conflicting expectations and points of reference. In general terms, we may say that one expectation of educational studies is the generation of scholarship required to add perspective to and improve our understanding of the processes and aims of education as it functions in social life. Another common expectation has to do with the more immediate responsibility to intervene so as to ameliorate current school problems and thus improve the practices of educational institutions. While these functions are obviously related, they are not identical. Certainly a good deal of the scholarly perspective we acquire will be drawn from a better understanding of the practices of schooling, just as a deeper understanding of educational theory will help refine that practice. Yet to understand education requires more than an analysis of what happens within isolated classrooms, and sometimes what is of immediate practical value for schooling may not require a great deal of scholarly sophistication. This situation is not different from the expectations we have about

legal scholarship. We expect that legal studies will inform the judicial system and help provide some of the insights needed to improve it. Yet legal scholarship extends well beyond the law as it functions in the courts of one's own time and/or location. In doing so, it provides a context for understanding the present legal system. Unlike legal scholarship, however, educational studies has too often been judged by its ability to provide immediate payoffs. It is more appropriate, though, to acknowledge that the activities of the schools are but one of the practices that such scholarship seeks to understand, and that educational research and any particular set of school practices need not always embody an instrumental relationship.

A more fruitful way to constitute the domain of educational studies is to attempt, through the identification of a common function, to capture the general features which are represented by the practice of education, while also recognizing the various forms that these features may take in specific settings. I suggest that we understand the field of educational studies to consist of inquiry into the processes by which a society is reproduced either in its current or some modulated form.

Any society must provide the means for its own continuity, including the provision of parameters within which alterations will be tolerated. Society, in other words, is continually recreated, although not always in the same form, through shared understandings in which all of its members participate, to one degree or another and utilizing different frameworks. The reproduction of a society is a function of the development of such shared understandings, and this is the primary function of education, first as a social activity, and only later, and only in some contexts, as a social institution.

The practice of education within this conception has four broad functions. First, there is the reproduction of skills and abilities that meet socially defined needs, which takes place through the acquisition of forms of knowledge. Second, there is the internalization of normative frameworks through which such knowledge is understood—for example, the recognition that certain forms of knowledge or certain kinds of language have more status within a particular social formation than others (Apple, 1982; Feinberg, 1983). Third, there is the reproduction of forms of consciousness that provide the basis of social life. This includes an awareness of how people are to act in differing interpersonal contexts, and thus how different skills and abilities may be appropriate or inappropriate in those contexts. The task of educational studies, however, is not restricted to simply reiterating existing knowledge forms, normative frameworks, or modes of consciousness, or understanding these in a conventional way, and this adds a fourth dimension to educational studies as a discipline. An analysis of how current educational realities may be inadequate, given an alternative set of possibilities or a vision that improves upon current practice, is just as central to its mission. A primary function of educational studies is to reflectively understand knowledge, values, and con-

sciousness, as well as their interrelations, as social constructions with historical antecedents. Following this, those involved in educational studies are obliged to further our awareness that these patterns, to varying degrees at specific historical moments, are objects of choice and possible candidates for change. Educational studies adds a reflectively critical dimension to the social activity of education.

The study of education as social reproduction shifts the responsibility of its practitioners away from an exclusively pragmatic one that is called into operation to repair dysfunctions in the schools. The problems of schools remain central for us, however, because in contemporary society they comprise a major vehicle for social reproduction. Moreover, as sites for the acquisition of knowledge, normative frameworks, and forms of consciousness, we have a moral obligation as educators to understand, analyze, and suggest modifications in school practice that may lead to improved forms of institutional and social life.

I have tried thus far to show that: 1) We can understand educational studies to be constituted by methodological pluralism and disciplinary permeability; 2) Such pluralism and permeability are facts of much if not all of intellectual life, not aberrations of a low-status field whose legitimacy can on that account be repeatedly called into question; 3) Educational studies in these respects differs only from an unrealized and perhaps detrimental ideal, but not from other, actual domains; 4) A consideration of the ways in which knowledge, values, and forms of consciousness are transmitted so as to promote social reproduction, as well as a critical perspective on these processes, forms the basis for educational studies as a discipline; and 5) While educational studies is vitally concerned with the practices of schooling, schools are not the only institutions involved in education, and educational scholarship need not restrict itself to current forms of such practice.

The view that educational studies is without substance, or direction, or methodology, is a prejudice that cannot be sustained. It is tempting to say, in addition, that educational studies just is a liberal discipline. Yet, in saying this, we are confronted with an additional difficulty. I would argue that, in fact, we have no very clear, unambiguous view of what a liberal discipline is, or what liberal learning entails. It is, though, often claimed that a liberal field excludes certain activities—training for a trade, studies that are narrowly confining in their orientation or outlook, technical or vocational pursuits, and the like. Suffice it to say that the view of educational studies recommended here is at odds with such preoccupations, and that the breadth and depth of study required seems equal to any vision or actual example of liberal learning that may be advanced.

Beyond the conceptual bases for the discipline of educational studies as outlined above, it may be useful to provide an indication of the parameters upon which this conception might be developed. General outlines for this discipline suggest that it would: 1) Be an inter-disciplinary field of study, recognizing the nature of boundaries between fields as permeable and capable of being redefined;

2) Focus on issues related to the reproduction/transformation of society—its institutions, cultural codes, value structures, and ways of thinking, seeing, and sense-making; 3) Consider how knowledge, skills, and forms of consciousness are transmitted and distributed, as well as the normative frameworks through which such knowledge is understood; 4) Seek to develop a contextualized awareness (historically as well as socially) of current patterns in American society; and 5) Link analysis and reflection with proposals for redirection and action.

We put forward a concrete proposal to this end at Knox College, which would comprise a major in educational studies for students not interested in becoming certified to teach. Students would enroll in four courses in the foundations of education (School and Society, Philosophy of Education, History of Education, and Psychological Foundations of Education); design, with the guidance of two faculty members (one inside, one outside the Department of Education), a thematically integrated set of four courses from other departments dealing with some issue related to the domain of educational studies; and complete two courses dealing with educational research, the first a course in research methodology and the second in the completion of an actual research project. To illustrate, consider an example of what an educational studies major might look like that took as its theme "Education and Inequality." In addition to the coursework in the foundations of education and in educational research, students might complete the following Knox courses: Sociology-Anthropology 103, Industrial Society; Sociology-Anthropology 240, Social Inequality and Social Class in America; Black Studies/History 263, African-American History I: Slavery and Race in America; and Women's Studies 101: Women, Culture, and Society. Integrating ideas and perspectives from the foundations of education courses and this cluster of courses from other departments, students would complete this major with a research project designed to provide an opportunity for independent scholarship.

Yet, getting approval for this major turned out to be more complicated and accompanied by more institutional and ideological obstacles than we had imagined; ultimately our efforts on behalf of this approach to educational studies proved unsuccessful at Knox. We turn now to a consideration of those obstacles.

Institutionalizing Educational Studies

Founded in 1837, Knox College continues to enroll about 1000 students in its exclusively undergraduate programs. The mission of the college has been, and continues to be, based on several interlocking principles. First, the commitment of the college to social justice, especially with respect to issues of social class, race/ethnicity, and gender, lies close to the core of the college's very existence. Second, the provision of a quality liberal education is a defining element of the college. For students, this involves asking important, fundamental questions about perennial and more contemporary issues; for faculty, the opportunity to engage in research

that furthers the liberal arts mission of the college as it enhances teaching. Third, the emphasis on helping students communicate effectively with each other, to think carefully and critically about their own life situations, to connect intellectual engagement with moral responsibility, and to take increased responsibility for their educations are distinguishing features of the college.

The first Department of Education at Knox College began with the 1919-20 academic year, led by James Luckens McConaughy, who was both Professor of Education and President of the College. The Department of Education has, of course, undergone substantial revision in its nearly 75-year history. The development of educational studies as a discipline within the confines of Knox was founded on two important claims: first, that educational studies could provide an interdisciplinary base and an area of inquiry for students interested in educational issues and ideas but who may have no special interest in teaching as a profession; and second, that the umbrella of this discipline, conceived (as outlined above) as the study of the means by which society is maintained, offered an alternative set of possibilities for teacher preparation. In this section of this paper, I deal primarily with the ways in which we attempted to institutionalize the first of these claims; discussions of the latter claim can be found elsewhere (Beyer, 1988, 1989, 1991(a), 1991(b); Liston and Zeichner, 1991). The bulk of the events described below took place during the 1990-91 academic year, during which our teacher education programs were also being assessed by the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE).

We indicated to the Dean of the College and the Curriculum Committee of the faculty our continued desire to clarify and significantly enlarge upon a conceptual orientation to educational studies during the spring of 1990.[3] We forwarded to the Committee an orientation to and rationale for educational studies, as well as a set of proposals to alter our programs leading to teacher certification so that they would conform to new ISBE mandates. Apart from such mandates, we proposed the following alterations within the department:

1) The creation of a new course, History of Education.

2) Renumbering our School and Society course so that it could be taken by freshman students only with the consent of the instructor.

3) Cross listing Philosophy of Education with the Department of Philosophy.

4) Replacing several existing courses with new ones:

   a) Education of Exceptional Children would become Education of Students Who Are Different.

   b) Educational Psychology would become Psychological Foundations of Education.

   c) Reading and Language Arts Instruction would become Literary and Aesthetic Experiences in the Elementary School.

d) Special Methods of Instruction- Elementary would become Curriculum Development and Teaching in the Elementary School.

e) Two half-credit secondary education courses, one in general methods and one in special methods, would become Curriculum Development and Teaching in the Secondary School.

5. The course entitled Knowledge and Power: Perspectives on Curriculum would be required for secondary education students, when this had only been the case for elementary education majors.

6. The Developmental Psychology course would be dropped from the courses required for certification.

Our teacher preparation programs would, then, be composed of the following course requirements:

1) School and Society
2) Either History of Education or Philosophy of Education
3) Psychological Foundations of Education
4) Education of Students Who Are Different
5) Knowledge and Power: Perspectives on Curriculum
6a) For elementary education students:
    1) Literary and Aesthetic Experiences in the Elementary School
    2) Curriculum Development and Teaching in the Elementary School
6b) For secondary education students:
    1) Curriculum Development and Teaching in the Secondary School
7) Student Teaching

Our recommendations for the reconstruction of programs in teacher preparation were based on the notion of educational studies discussed in the previous section of this essay. We outlined teacher preparation programs that were committed to the notion that teaching is a field of reflective moral action in which general and professional education must not only be valued equally but—contrary to the view of many writers and reform advocates, including the Holmes Group (1986)—integrated and mutually reinforcing. In addition, we recommended to the Curriculum Committee in the spring of 1990 that a new major be approved, along the lines discussed at the end of Section II. This proposed major attracted significant student interest even though our proposals were not at that time made public—a situation that, as I will discuss below, may have contributed to their eventual disapproval.

Because the Curriculum Committee felt constrained by the amount of time

available for deliberation on our proposals, they approved only the changes mandated by the ISBE regarding teacher certification. I did have the opportunity to meet with the Committee on at least one occasion, however, and thought a useful exchange ensued.

It is important to note that I had several discussions with the Dean of the College during 1988-89, 1989-90, and 1990-91 regarding the need for additional faculty and staff positions within the department. These additions were necessitated by a tremendous increase in our number of majors and in the number of students enrolling in our courses more generally, extended bureaucratic oversight by the ISBE that required increased faculty time commitments, increased expectations from local public school teachers and administrators, a desire to continue to contribute to general education courses within the college, and other factors. We did receive authorization for a minimal number of part-time positions when these were obviously indicated by enrollment figures. Notwithstanding such temporary authorizations, I indicated to the Dean in the spring of 1990 that I would be requesting a new faculty position, and I formally requested such a position on September 12, 1990. I also reported that absent the approval of this request, we would have to put a cap on admissions to our teacher education programs, that about one-half of our current numbers (28 students completed our programs in 1991) was the level of enrollment that a 2.16 FTE department could reasonably and responsibly accommodate. The request for an additional position was not approved. As will become clear in the following discussion, the unfortunate coincidence in the timing of this request and our proposal for a new major led to many faculty, purposely or otherwise, conflating these two actions. This situation was confounded by the fact that the Dean of the College is not only the administrative officer that recommends faculty additions to the President, but also Chair of the Curriculum Committee that was considering our proposals regarding a major in Educational Studies.

On September 27, 1990, we resubmitted a series of proposals along the lines of the ones suggested the previous spring, as outlined above. These proposals, in addition to the specific changes already mentioned, would result in the following:

> 1) The department offering a major in Educational Studies with three foci: one on elementary school teaching, one on secondary school teaching, and one on research. Recognizing secondary education as a possible focus of the major required a change in faculty regulations, since a regulation then in existence stated:
>
> > C.4 Teacher's Certificate. Students desiring to earn a teacher's certificate for elementary school may major in education. Students who wish to earn a teacher's certificate for secondary school may not major in education.[4]
>
> This was the only faculty regulation that dealt with any depart-

mental offerings or requirements for majors within the college.
2) The cross listing of 2 courses: School and Society and Philosophy of Education, with the Departments of Sociology-Anthropology and Philosophy, respectively.
3) The changing of the name of the department to the Department of Educational Studies.

The recommendations made to the Curriculum Committee contained, as before, the creation of two new courses, Research in Educational Studies and Research Project in Educational Studies, which would be required for students majoring in Educational Studies/Research, and serve as electives for other interested students. By the time these courses were re-introduced to the committee, I had six or eight conversations with students who said they were interested in the research oriented major, though again our proposals were not a matter of public information.

I was invited to appear before the Curriculum Committee on two occasions during the fall of 1990 to summarize our recommendations and answer questions of committee members (some of whom were new to the Committee, since our proposals were first submitted some months earlier). I found these discussions to be less informative and useful than the previous ones, and would especially note two negative features. First, many committee members had apparently not read or understood the written materials we had prepared, since questions were continually asked for which there were obvious answers provided within the materials themselves. This is not meant to castigate the committee members, since they were also deliberating on several other matters and could not focus complete attention on our proposals. Yet, this situation does suggest some of the dynamics at work in the conversations that ensued. For example, one member of the Curriculum Committee suggested it might be premature to establish an Educational Studies/Research major "until we find out more from the state," even though the state's role in the department extended only to certification requirements.[5] Second, questions that were raised were increasingly unfriendly or even hostile. For instance, one question dealt with our ability to accurately analyze the nature of education as a field of inquiry; another, repeated question reflected doubt about the comparable intellectual or academic worth of student teaching, for which students received the equivalent of ten semester hours of credit, even though this had been the practice for eight years; another often-asked question concerned the multi-disciplinary focus of the Educational Studies/Research major, which many committee members thought denied students the single-disciplinary emphasis they believed accompanied other majors in the college and added to their liberal education; last, questions were raised directly or indirectly about whether the Curriculum Committee was being used to justify additions in staffing when that was not within its regulatory purview.

The issue of staffing was, in fact, to become one of the central concerns

discussed over the next few months, around which there was great confusion and miscommunication. It is therefore worth discussing in some depth.

Whenever proposals for new courses are made to the Curriculum Committee, a form is to be completed that asks for several pieces of information. Among the information to be supplied is a statement which is to include (question number 12, part 3) "an explanation of the adjustments in staffing that will be made" [if the new course is approved]. When submitting the course proposal forms for the two new research courses to be included within the Educational Studies/Research major, I responded to all but that question, indicating that I would not be including this information since: a) The duties of the Curriculum Committee, as outlined in faculty regulations, do not include deliberating over questions of staffing, and b) Having a faculty committee consider staffing issues muddies the distinction between faculty and administrative responsibilities. This situation was, again, made even more acute because the Dean chaired this faculty committee. While it was suggested by the Dean and others that allowing a faculty committee input into staffing issues increases its decision-making role, in practice the result may be quite different. What may happen is that the Dean will use a staffing question—not, in my view, a question that ought to be decisive in considering curriculum issues, and not a matter in which faculty on this committee ought to be involved—as a reason to deny curricular changes, when clearly the reverse is not true. That is, the approval of new courses cannot lead by itself to a decision to add faculty positions, since such decisions are the prerogative of the administration; yet a faculty committee can refuse to approve new courses and majors because of questions about staffing. Further, a faculty committee—the Faculty Affairs Subcommittee of the Executive Committee—has the responsibility of giving advice to the Dean regarding the "size and shape" of the faculty. In our case, this fact compounded an already quite protracted and intense discussion, since I was at the time of these deliberations a member of the Executive Committee and Chair of the Faculty Affairs Subcommittee. I did indicate in response to the course proposal form question about staffing that not only would I be happy to discuss this with the Dean, but that such discussions had, in fact, begun and were ongoing.

The members of the Curriculum Committee did not agree with my interpretation of their responsibilities, largely because of the sense that "this is the way it has always been done." Nor did the Committee agree with my substantive arguments about the nature of curriculum, claiming instead that "curriculum" and "staffing" are coextensive areas of concern.

During a meeting with the Dean on November 5, 1990, he indicated that the Curriculum Committee might bring our request for two new majors, along with a list of what it thought to be the pros and cons of the proposals, to the faculty meeting scheduled for later that month. Among the cons of the Educational Studies/Research major was the fact that only six courses in the department would be required; the possibility that prerequisites for courses outside the department in

which students would choose to enroll would be prohibitive; that too much work in 100- and 200-level courses (300-level courses are considered the most advanced) might take place within this major; that this might better be seen as a "concentration" rather than a "major"; and that staffing questions had not been addressed. The only reservation that was substantial was the one concerning staffing, since there were obvious ways to prevent the other presumed negative aspects of the proposal from occurring.[6] The fact that these had not been discussed with committee members, and that the conversations had taken on a more adversarial tone than I would have predicted, is reflected in their decision to convey what they saw as negative findings that could easily have been resolved.

The motivation for resisting our Educational Studies/Research major was coming from a number of sources. My perception of the events that transpired is that this resistance was due to:

1) A basic denial of the status of educational studies as a field, as distinct from teacher education programs. I did convey a basic set of ideas and arguments on behalf of the notion that educational studies is a liberal discipline to the Curriculum Committee. In addition, I had made a presentation as part of a faculty colloquium series in May of 1990, and made available essays on this topic. Yet the substance of this issue was never debated by the Curriculum Committee nor by the faculty as a whole. Thus, what transpired was a piece of intellectual hegemony regarding the domain of education, coupled with some people's perceptions of previous departments at Knox and current educational programs elsewhere. Efforts to focus discussion on the substance of our courses and programs, and on our students, were continually thwarted.

2) The Committee's insistence that I provide information regarding staffing, as requested on its course proposal form. This was reinforced in a memo to me dated November 14, 1990, from the Dean/Curriculum Committee Chair, in which he stated:

> I have been instructed to suggest that the Curriculum Committee would appreciate it if the course proposals for [our two new courses required for the Educational Studies/Research major] each have attached on separate sheets the usual statement as per question number 12 on the course proposal form....The Committee, in trying to evaluate proposals, finds it easier if each proposal addresses each point directly.[7]

I responded to this memo on November 15, 1990, indicating that additional information regarding staffing of our two new proposed courses would be forthcoming. A memo outlining how staffing issues would be resolved if our proposals were approved was submitted to the Dean on February 1, 1991.[8]

In a memo from the Dean dealing with other issues entirely—namely, our Institutional Report to the ISBE, preliminary to their site visit—dated December 10, 1990, he indicated that "there has been no change in the expected level of

staffing in the department from two full-time people plus one course....Unless in the future we agree on a change, your scheduling for the next year needs to be approached in those terms."[9]

At a chance meeting with the Dean on December 17, 1990, he reiterated that to approve our request for an Educational Studies/Secondary Teaching major, a change in faculty regulation C.4 would have to be made. He also stated that the Curriculum Committee had not approved the two new courses we recommended because we had not submitted the information regarding staffing; this in spite of the fact I had informed him additional information regarding staffing would be forthcoming, and in spite of the fact that the deadline for submitting course proposals was February 13, 1991—nearly two months away. More importantly, the Dean rather strongly suggested dropping our proposal for the Educational Studies/Research major because the committee was not sympathetic and felt it was "stretching itself too thin" by having to discuss Department of Education proposals at too great a length. I indicated that I understood the Committee's position (even though no formal vote had been taken) but that any approval of the Educational Studies/Research major must come from the faculty as a whole, where I thought we had a much better chance of a positive response, and, more importantly, that this proposal was of vital interest to me personally and to the department more generally, and that we were not about to "let it go," as the Dean had suggested. It is an understatement to say he was distressed to hear our position on these matters.

In a memo to all faculty dated December 20, 1990, the Dean/Curriculum Committee Chair indicated the "findings" of the Committee, and specifically reported that a proposal for a new major in secondary education had been made that would necessitate a change in faculty regulations. His recommendation was "that we vote first on the change in faculty regulations because without that change any further discussion would be moot."[10] Attached to that memorandum was a copy of one page of the minutes from the Curriculum Committee meeting of December 6, 1990, which reported a discussion of our proposal for a new major in Educational Studies with a Focus on Secondary School Teaching. Nowhere in this document was it revealed that this proposal was only part of a recommendation that the department offer one major with three foci, including the Educational Studies/ Research major, and none of our other proposals were included in it. The agenda for the regular faculty meeting of January 14, 1991, included a report by the Dean for the Curriculum Committee; also circulated with that agenda was a copy of the December 20, 1990 memo from the Dean to all faculty, and a copy of the Curriculum Committee's minutes noted above. At that faculty meeting, the Dean moved the following:

> C.4 Teacher's Certificate. Students desiring to earn a teacher's certificate for elementary school may major in education. Students who wish to earn a teacher's certificate for secondary school should major in education and must also major in another

discipline or improved [sic] program. [1]

Subsequently, I moved a substitute amendment that faculty regulation C.4 be deleted.

After prolonged discussion of this issue, which included a good deal of confusion about why we were considering these proposals when no other departmental recommendations or Curriculum Committee findings were forwarded, the faculty voted to refer this issue to the Committee for further deliberation.

Subsequently, copies of our September, 1990 proposals to the Curriculum Committee were circulated to all faculty by that Committee on February 4, 1991. Two days later, a subcommittee circulated its findings, in the form of responses to the proposals we had made in September. Also circulated were copies of the minutes of a special Curriculum Committee meeting with interested students, which occurred on February 5, 1991. The students attending this meeting listened attentively, were responsive but determined in communicating their concerns, and displayed great courage and maturity. The committee's major findings were:

> 1) That the Educational Studies/Secondary Teaching major "could not stand on its own" because it would not satisfy the Knox graduation requirement that all students complete a major, and would not by itself satisfy certification requirements;
>
> 2) That indicating on students' transcripts they had completed the requirements for secondary certification provided for them sufficient institutional recognition, thus discounting part of the basis for the plea by faculty and students that the college recognize secondary education as a major;
>
> 3) That faculty regulation C.4 must be changed if the Educational Studies/Secondary Teaching major was approved;
>
> 4) That the proposal for an Educational Studies/Research major, and the need for a thematically integrated set of four courses, was seriously flawed; specifically, the Curriculum Committee reported that, "[it] is concerned that...the subject matter of the non-education courses seems peripheral to the discipline of 'Education,'" in comparison with non-departmental courses required for majors in American Studies and Physics, for example;
>
> 5) That staffing the new courses was problematic, as was the department's view that we needed to place a cap on admissions to teacher education.

In response to these findings, and as a follow-up to some questions raised at the January faculty meeting, we circulated a document that detailed facts about the department, a draft of the department's courses and mission for next year's catalogue, a copy of the staffing document sent earlier to the Dean, copies of course syllabi, and a bibliography outlining sources that might be pursued in understand-

ing more fully the conceptual framework for our proposals. These materials were delivered to each member of the faculty.

At the faculty meeting of February 11, 1991, members of the Curriculum Committee briefly discussed their findings dated February 6, 1991. Subsequently, and in opposition to those findings, a member of the faculty moved that the Department of Education proposals dated September 27, 1990, be approved, and shortly thereafter a motion to amend was approved that divided our proposals so that they could be voted on separately. A number of faculty spoke supportingly and even movingly about the desirability of our proposal, how it fit with the mission of the college and with other majors already in existence; others spoke against the motion, suggesting that the proposed major was too different or not substantial enough. Toward the end of this debate, in a rather rare flourish regarding the discussion of a curricular issue in a faculty meeting, the Dean also spoke against the motion, bringing up again issues related to our plan to place a cap on teacher education admissions, how the department best meets the needs of students (suggesting that as a credentialing service our exclusive focus ought to remain on teacher education), and his perception that the courses taken outside the department required for the major would be extraneous to the field. Eventually, the faculty voted against the creation of an Educational Studies/Research major, with the final vote being 33 opposed and 24 in favor. A motion to recess until a special meeting to be held February 18, 1991, was then approved.

At that special meeting of the faculty, a number of motions to amend and/or substitute were made. After some discussion, I made the following motion:

> I move to recognize Educational Studies as a legitimate, worthwhile discipline and academic major. I further move that Knox College shall offer a major in Educational Studies with two foci: one in elementary school teaching and one in secondary school teaching as outlined in the memorandum from the Department of Education...[on] September 27, 1990...

An important aspect of this motion, and one that had been suggested to me by a faculty member outside the department, was that both majors were disentangled from the requirements for certification. This meant that students could complete either major without necessarily completing the requirements for teacher certification, thus moving us at least one step closer to the view that educational studies is not synonymous with teacher education. This motion passed, and the meeting adjourned shortly thereafter.

This still left the matter of the now infamous faculty regulation C.4, prohibiting students from majoring in secondary education. On March 6, 1991, preliminary to the regular monthly faculty meeting scheduled for March 11, an alternative regulation was circulated, which mandated the completion of a second major for students majoring in secondary education. This motion—labeled "hostile" by a non-Education Department faculty member—would have been at

odds with the spirit and letter of the previous faculty vote that disentangled our majors from certification requirements. It represented a last-ditch attempt by a group of disgruntled faculty members who thought education really wasn't a legitimate discipline anyway, and for whom expanding our legitimacy was apparently anathema. This rewording was moved by a member of the Curriculum Committee at the faculty meeting; it failed on a vote of 18 for and 34 against. A subsequent motion, to delete C.4, was approved on a vote of 29 for and 15 against.

Conclusion

It is an understatement to say that the 1990-91 academic year at Knox College was interesting. The Department of Educational Studies succeeded in: 1) Changing its name--which was, for all concerned, more than a semantic shift; luckily, a faculty vote on this proposal was, as far as anyone could tell, unnecessary, and thus was never discussed; 2) Having two foundations courses approved for cross listing; 3) Having secondary education treated as a major, along with elementary education, and both indicated as foci for an Educational Studies major; 4) Disentangling the requirements for these majors from the ISBE requirements for certification; and 5) Abolishing faculty regulation C.4.

On the other hand, the major we most cared about—Educational Studies/ Research—and that would have formally and clearly established educational studies as a liberal discipline, distinct from teacher certification, was defeated, albeit on a rather close vote (42 percent of the faculty voting in support, 58 percent in opposition; a switch of five votes would have resulted in this major being approved). Upon reflection, some important aspects of this process may be clarified.

The conflation of curriculum and staffing issues by the Curriculum Committee may be the single most damaging phenomenon that led to the Committee's lack of support. This was confused with unsuccessful attempts to win approval for an additional faculty position in the department, and a need to put a cap on student admission to teacher education programs. I accept some responsibility for this unfortunate coincidence of events, though I think the lack of conceptual clarity regarding issues surrounding curriculum and staffing, and the structural issues surrounding the Dean's chairing of the Curriculum Committee, served as crucial impediments to our proposals.

Throughout my discussions with the committee, and in faculty meetings more broadly, there was almost an aversion to dealing with central conceptual and policy issues: Is educational studies a liberal discipline? What is a liberal discipline anyway? What vision of liberal learning, and of Knox College in particular, animates our thinking in this matter? And how has the direction of the department changed in the last decade, as reflected in its courses, intellectual and practical commitments, student body, and faculty members? Too frequently recourse was

sought in "this is the way we've always done things" statements or inferences, which served to cut short intellectual engagement.

I was also fascinated by how easy it was for faculty members and administrators to express what constitutes the proper domain of education or educational studies. Even though none of the people offering their perspective had anything like a background in education on which they could draw, they felt quite justified in saying what was and what was not in keeping with the nature of our field. This, no doubt, follows from the fact that all of my colleagues had of course attended public schools and colleges/universities, and were thereby well acquainted with the practices and problems of education; that they saw themselves as teachers and educators, and thus competent to make pronouncements about the nature of education; and that many of them had uncritically accepted a hierarchical view of the academy within which education lies toward or at the bottom.

Understanding the context within which these proposals were being debated is also crucial in fully comprehending the rejection of our Educational Studies/Research major. The number of entering freshmen for 1990-91 was the lowest we had experienced since 1983, and was about 21 percent smaller than the college had assumed in working out its budget figures for that academic year. Thus there was a sense of fiscal constraint if not crisis, since Knox, like many small colleges, is "tuition driven." This made our proposals more problematic, especially since they were mistakenly perceived as requiring additional staffing. Because of the conflation of events already noted, the climate of fiscal constraint that existed, the position of the Dean as both chief academic officer of the college and Chair of the Curriculum Committee, and the persistent assumption held by many faculty that we are a service department for those students seeking to become teachers, the reality that the need for additional staffing was not connected to the proposed new major was never fully understood or appreciated.

Given the fiscal situation of the college, and the popularity of our existing programs, the fact that the Educational Studies/Research major was accurately perceived as a potentially quite popular major undoubtedly worked against us. It was felt that since on our own admission our resources were already stretched too thin, the addition of a new major would detract from our central obligation—preparing teachers—with a subtext that creating a new popular major for students would lead to reduced majors in other fields, and in times of fiscal stridency this possibility may well have been a key factor for some who opposed our new major.

On a more promising note, the discussions on the issues we were raising were sometimes enlightening, and we received support often from places where it was not expected. For example, the proposal to disentangle major from certification requirements was made by a faculty member whose support came as a pleasant surprise. And there were other public and private statements of support that were heartfelt and moving.

On the whole, I came away from this experience with a better view of what

our possibilities might be and how these might be approached. It made me more sensitive to both the constraints that exist and how they might be overcome. In all, this experience was certainly an important part of my own liberal education.

The proposal for the Educational Studies/Research major may be resurrected in the future. I would do several things differently that may be useful to at least mention for those contemplating similar curricular changes.

I would meet more extensively with faculty members supportive of the basic idea of an interdisciplinary focus for the major, and create a number of sample majors that would involve coursework in their departments which they would enthusiastically support. The greater the number of such samples, obviously, the greater faculty support we could expect to have for our proposals. Providing additional forums for discussions of educational studies as a liberal discipline, such as those available through a recently formed student-led group, Teachers for Social Responsibility, might also prove useful.

Then too, general student interest in this proposal, which was very significant, was not meaningfully communicated to the faculty. Here I think the faculty may be most vulnerable, for principled as well as political and economic reasons. The effective communication of student convictions was hampered during the time our proposals were debated by the fact that the only students who could attend faculty meetings were those who were official observers as identified by the student senate, or who were members of faculty committees with official business pending. Attempting to change this would be a relatively high priority.

Clearly, the general fiscal situation of the college must be taken into account more fully than I did in considering the timing of our proposals. The economic health as well as political mores of the institution must be considered in this regard. Having said this, it still is not clear (indeed, writing in the early summer of 1992, it is less clear—for reasons that I will not bore the reader with) that more prosperous economic times would result in a more positive outcome.[12]

While our inability to receive approval for an Educational Studies/Research major was quite disappointing, much of substance was accomplished during the time period with which this essay has been concerned. It may be the case that we need to savor such accomplishments a bit before moving ahead with further refinements in this proposal.

The conceptual framework for educational studies summarized above continues to promise, I believe, an important alternative for students, faculty, and colleges interested in education; it may well have special relevance for liberal arts colleges. While the institutional, cultural, and political contexts of these colleges undoubtedly vary from time to time, place to place, and institution to institution, the barriers to the complete implementation of educational studies at Knox College may be as instructive for others as they have been for me.

Just as we need adequate conceptual bases for our work in educational studies, we need an expanded awareness of the particular contexts in which they might be

implemented. Thus may we contribute to a re-invigoration of educational studies in higher education.

Notes

1. It was never our intent to introduce educational studies as a field of inquiry at the expense, or instead, of programs leading to teacher certification. Indeed I believe that the orientation to educational studies outlined in this paper provides both an argument for the nature of our field as a liberal discipline and the basis for an altered conception of teacher preparation. On this, see Beyer, 1988.
2. Some of the ideas in this section were originally discussed in Beyer, Feinberg, Pagano, and Whitson, 1989.
3. There have been several people involved in this effort, now spanning about a decade, since it was first begun. Because of personnel changes (including my own, since I have taught at Knox College two different times, from 1981-1984, and from 1988 to the present) there really is no unbroken line of development in this effort to authenticate educational studies as a liberal discipline in its own right. The use of the pronoun "we" in this discussion refers, then, to a multiplicity of people who have been involved over the years, most of whom were colleagues of mine, though all of us were never at Knox at any one time. These people include: Bruce Strom, Geoffrey Tabakin, John Grote, and Amy McAninch.
4. Knox College Faculty Regulations, C.4.
5. Minutes of the Curriculum Committee continued from October 23, 1990; Special meeting, October 24, 1990.
6. Indeed, following this meeting, I did an analysis of the requirements for each of the majors in the college, noting total credits, numbers of 300-level courses required, and the number of non-departmental courses required or allowed for the major in each department; this analysis was provided to all the members of the Curriculum Committee on November 21, 1990. It revealed that the concerns expressed regarding the Educational Studies/Research major concerning levels of courses, number of credits, and the number of courses included from outside the department, were not justified, given the current practices of many departments within the college. It was clear that the Department of Education was being asked to meet requirements that other departments were not.
7. Personal communication to me from the Dean of the College dated November 14, 1990.
8. While the delay between the request from the Dean and my compliance may seem excessive, I would note two mitigating factors: 1) Knox operates on a trimester system, with the fall term ending around Thanksgiving and the winter term beginning shortly after the first of the year; and 2) During the so-called "break," and for almost all of the month of January, I was frenetically involved in activities associated with the Institutional Report to the Illinois State Board of Education and their preliminary response to our report, which were required in addition to my regular teaching and administrative duties.
9. Personal communication to me from the Dean of the College dated December 10, 1990.
10. Memorandum from the Dean of the College to all faculty dated December 20, 1990.
11. Minutes of the faculty meeting of January 14, 1991, p. 1, as circulated for approval at

the faculty meting of February 11, 1991.

12. One update may be worth reporting in regard to staffing issues, given their importance in the events that transpired during 1990-91. The final evaluation of our teacher education programs by the ISBE, completed and ratified by the State Teacher Certification Board in May of 1992, documented a number of deficiencies. For our purposes, the most interesting finding in this regard—and the one that will no doubt be hardest to respond to—is that both instructional and human resources in the Department of Educational Studies are inadequate. We have until May of 1994 to correct this situation.

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Sociopolitical Influences on Federal Government Funding of Gifted and Talented and Bilingual Education Programs

By Ursula Casanova
and Sheila Chavez

Ursula Casanova is an associate professor and Sheila Chavez is a graduate student, both in the Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, College of Education, Arizona State University, Tempe.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the influence of various socio-political factors on government policies in two federal programs, those for the gifted and talented and those for bilingual education. Both programs are examples of government efforts at addressing a perceived educational need, but each has been targeted to a different student population. In one case, targeted students are described by the government as a national resource, vital to the national defense. In the other case, targeted students are described as needy of remediation to help them overcome deficiencies. Thus, one of these programs has been associated with talent, and the other with academic

deficiency. One represents the nation's search for excellence, the other the nation's concern with equity.

Although their origins are similar, gifted and talented educational programs and those for bilingual populations have experienced different evolutions. That is the subject of this paper. We will trace the evolution of each of these programs and compare their political and research backgrounds to attempt to determine the influences that have shaped federal funding and implementation for each of them. In our conclusions, we will suggest reasons for these differences.

Early History

Federal programs for bilingual (BE) and gifted and talented students (GAT) have moved along similar paths in the legislative process. Both received much of their impetus in the late 1960s, and throughout their legislative history, both have been associated with outspoken advocacy groups.

Original Concerns for the Gifted and Talented

Educational GAT programs preceded BE by a decade. Before 1951, Congressional concern for the gifted and talented was concentrated on facilitating scientific research. The intensity of the cold war with the USSR during the 1940s encouraged the promotion of scientific research as an essential component of our national defense (Zettel, 1982). President Harry S. Truman's announcement, on September 23, 1949, of evidence of an atomic explosion occurring within the USSR intensified this concern and led to swift Congressional reaction (Manchester, 1973, cited in Zettel, 1982). Within a year, Congress had passed the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 (P.L. 81-247), with the aim of "improving the basic curriculum and encouraging gifted and talented students to pursue careers in mathematics and the physical sciences." Thus, at this time, the majority of federal aid was directed toward university and graduate scholarships in these areas (Zettel, 1982).

It was not until 1957 that an event would force an "unprecedented flurry of activity" in Congress related to the education of the gifted and talented (Zettel, 1982, p. 53). The October 4, 1957, launching of Sputnik, the world's first artificial satellite, by the Soviet Union, not only created an almost hysterical condition in the nation, but also had direct consequences for education in the United States. The schools were blamed for what was now perceived to be the second-class technological status of the United States. The Soviet Union's pre-eminence in that area was particularly galling to legislators, and led Congress, on September 2, 1958, to declare a national educational emergency. To meet this emergency, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 (P.L. 85-864) (Zettel, 1982). With this Act, the gifted became a federal priority, as Congress declared:

> In passing the National Defense Education Act,
> 1) The security of the nation required the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women;
> 2) The nation had to increase its efforts to identify and educate more of our talented individuals;
> 3) Although the states and local communities had to continue to retain control over and have primary responsibility for public education, the national interest required the federal government to provide assistance to those educational programs that were vital to our national defense. Thus, gifted and talented children became a special population eligible for federal assistance. Equally important was that, from the federal perspective, they also became regarded as a vital link to our national defense. (Zettel,1982, p. 54)

From 1958 to 1962, NDEA monies provided grants that escalated services for gifted and talented students to an all-time high. Schools were able to implement a variety of progressive educational programs and instructional strategies, such as honor classes, nongraded schools, innovative mathematics and science curricula, modular scheduling, programmed learning, early admissions to college, enrichment courses, and accelerated learning programs (Zettel, 1982).

Origins of Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education was not yet a legislative reality during that early period of GAT expansion. The first federal action in BE did not occur until 1968. In 1965, Congress brought the federal government squarely into education through the passage of a series of laws aimed at benefitting the economically and educationally disadvantaged. This effort culminated in the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (P.L. 89-10, 1965), through which over $1.3 billion dollars were allocated, in the first year alone, to the education of disadvantaged children (Zettel, 1982). That landmark legislation was provoked mainly by social unrest, and only indirectly by pedagogical concerns. In 1965, the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson, besieged by urban riots, sought to direct federal funds to the poor in American cities. With the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, Johnson succeeded not only in targeting money to the poor, but also in overcoming historical opposition to federal aid to education (Schneider, 1976). But the act did not originally address the needs of linguistically different populations. Those concerns were expressed in later legislation.

The 1968 Title VII Amendments to ESEA, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, were not based on knowledge about language learning or bilingual-

ism and were not a pedagogical response to a previously documented problem. This is not to say that children lacking English skills were not failing in the schools, but while the need existed, there was no great demand for the type of federal political intervention represented by the Bilingual Education Act. Rather, the Act was the result of political strategies designed to funnel federal poverty funds to the Southwest.

This move has been attributed to Senator Ralph Yarborough's (Democrat from Texas) interest in funneling a portion of the federal anti-poverty funds to his area of the nation. Yarborough, and those who joined him in the effort, appealed to the needs of Mexican-Americans, who were described as the second largest minority, very poor, and with a language deficiency (Schneider, 1976). This effort resulted in the Title VII Amendments, the first categorical Federal law authorizing bilingual-bicultural educational programs (Betances, Fernández, & Baez, 1981).

This initial effort to respond to the needs of linguistic minorities was flawed in several ways. The legislative language marked BE with two characteristics that have continued to haunt it throughout its history. It associated the program with poverty and language deficiency; it also left the meaning of BE ambiguous.

Gifted and Talented Education—1966-1970

As it became clear that attacks by the Russians were not imminent, and the initial shock of Sputnik paled, Congressional interest in the gifted and talented began to recede (Sisk, 1982). Support also waned as the nation entered the decade of the 1960s and the struggle for civil rights took center stage. The interest in gifted and talented youngsters decreased as concern for excellence was replaced by concerns for equity, and public and governmental attention turned to the educationally disadvantaged and economically deprived. (Zettel, 1982). Gallagher, Weiss, Oglesby, and Thomas (1983) write that the gifted and talented movement that had started in the late 1950s ended abruptly in 1966, when the nation became preoccupied with two major issues: 1) the Vietnam War; and 2) school desegregation (p. 41). Equity became the priority during those years, and excellence receded in the social conscience. The possibility that both equity and excellence could be achieved was apparently not entertained.

According to Zettel (1982), this change in social emphasis had a number of consequences for state and federal agencies dealing with gifted children. First, without public support, many of the statutes, regulations, and policies concerning gifted education that had been fought for and won at the state and local levels during the late 1950s never became truly institutionalized. Second, the shift in priorities caused a substantial portion of federal expenditures intended for development of gifted programs to be spent on services which would benefit other students as well (Zettel, 1982, p. 55).

However, advocacy groups such as The Council for Exceptional Children

remained alert and continued to call for an increased federal role in the education of students they perceived to be more talented. Their efforts were rewarded in 1969, when the Amendments to ESEA, also known as P.L. 91-230, were passed by a unanimous vote in both the Senate and the House. Included in these amendments was Section 806, "Provisions Related to Gifted and Talented Children," which was signed into law on April 13, 1970 (Zettel, 1982). Section 806 provided two sources of support funds for the gifted. One of them added gifted as a category to Title III of ESEA and provided funds to the states for innovative program development. The other added the gifted as a category to Title V of ESEA, to provide state program leadership development and assistance. In addition, Part C of Section 806 also included a Congressional request for the Commissioner of Education to conduct a study to determine the extent to which special educational assistance programs for gifted and talented children were necessary and to investigate the extent to which federal assistance programs were being used to meet those needs, to determine program effectiveness, and to recommend new programs if needed. This Congressional request turned out to have a significant and lasting impact on GAT education (NSPRA, pp. 3-4, 56).

Later Developments

Gifted and Talented Education in the 1970s

A significant study requested in 1969 by Part C of Public Law 91-230 began in August 1970 and was finished in June of 1971. The final report included a review of research, available literature on gifted and talented, and expert recommendations (Sisk, 1981). On October 6, 1971, Sidney Marland, the U. S. Commissioner of Education, reported to Congress on the status of gifted and talented education in the United States. *The Marland Report* (1972), as it is often called, "signaled the beginning of a broad based and sustained interest in developing appropriate educational programs for gifted and talented children" (Council for Exceptional Children, 1978, p 3).

Dorothy Sisk (1981) (former director of the federal Office of the Gifted and Talented) identified nine major findings of the 1972 *Marland Report*:

> 1) Existing services to the gifted and talented didn't reach large and significant subpopulations (e.g., minorities and disadvantaged) and served only a very small percentage of the gifted and talented population in general.
>
> 2) Differentiated education for the gifted and talented was perceived as a very low priority at federal, state, and most local levels of government and educational administration.
>
> 3) Twenty-one states had legislation to provide resources to school districts for services to the gifted and talented.

4) Even where there was a legal or administrative basis for the provision of services, funding priorities, crisis concerns, and lack of personnel caused programs for the gifted to be small in number or theoretical.

5) Identification of the gifted was hampered not only by costs of appropriate testing—when these methods were known and adopted—but also stemmed from apathy and even hostility among teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, and psychologists.

6) Special services for the gifted and talented also would serve other target populations such as the disadvantaged.

7) Services provided to the gifted and talented could and did produce significant and measurable outcomes.

8) State and local communities looked to the federal government for leadership in the area of education, with or without massive funding.

9) The federal role in the delivery of services to gifted and talented was all but nonexistent. (Sisk, 1981, pp. 356-357; NSPRA, pp. 64-65)

The Marland Report was an essential development in the evolution of federal GAT educational policy because it recommended a new method of federal assistance for the GAT (Sisk, 1982). The Commissioner noted the problem presented by the lack of categorical assistance for the GAT as well as the inadequacy of these funds to produce a national impact. Congress responded with P.L. 93-380 or the Amendments to ESEA of 1974. The Special Projects Act of P.L. 93-380, Section 404, was the first law to provide **direct** assistance to "gifted and talented children at the elementary and secondary educational levels, not postsecondary students or specific programs" (Zettel, 1982, p. 61). This Act, therefore, marked a shift from advocacy and support by the federal government to the allocation of categorical funds to the states (Jackson, 1979). Through these funds, state and local educational agencies were able to plan, develop, operate, and improve programs for gifted and talented children at all levels (Walling, 1986).

The Special Projects Act (1974) also established an advocacy office, the Office of Gifted and Talented. Until that time, there had been no central person or staff responsible for coordinating the federal effort for the gifted and talented. The new office was housed in the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, because policy-makers at the Office of Education reasoned that gifted and talented youngsters were, similarly to the handicapped, "exceptional children whose unique learning needs and characteristics couldn't be met in the regular classroom without ancillary support and assistance." (Sisk, 1982, p. 442).

A second significant impact of *The Marland Report* was the considerable broadening of the 1969 federal definition of the gifted and talented from "children

who have outstanding intellectual ability or creative talent" (P.L. 91-230, 1969) to "children capable of high performance including those with demonstrated achievement and/or potential ability in any of the following areas, singly or in combination: 1) general intellectual ability; 2) specific academic aptitude; 3) creative or productive thinking; 4) visual and performing arts; and 5) psychomotor ability. It also suggested that the utilization of these criteria for the identification of gifted and talented children would encompass a minimum of 3 percent to 5 percent of the school population" (as cited in Zettel, 1982, p. 59). The broadening of the federal definition of GAT indicated policy-makers' interest to respond to equity concerns.

Bilingual Education in the 1970s

The mid 1970s were also a critical period for BE. Schneider (1976) found that, as lobbyists and active participants in the drafting of legislation, non-English dominant populations exerted a significant influence in the passage of the 1974 Bilingual Education Act. They were encouraged, in their efforts, by the Supreme Court's 1974 *Lau* decision.

In this decision, based on Title VI, the Court ruled that students were being denied equal educational opportunity when school officials took no steps whatever to help SOLs[1] participate meaningfully in the school program. The Court ruled that "...there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful" (*Lau v Nichols*, 1974). Thus, Congress' previous political actions were translated into a pedagogical need through the Court's decision.

After the *Lau* decision, members of Congress, perhaps encouraged by the judicial support, accepted a requirement for native language instruction in the 1974 Amendments and also eliminated the poverty requirement from the legislation. The *Lau* decision was followed by the creation of Lau Centers to provide technical assistance and support to school districts in the interpretation of the Lau Remedies. Although the remedies did not have the force of law, their implementation was monitored through the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's (now split into two departments, Education and Human Resources). By 1978, the next reauthorization cycle, research on bilingual education had begun to accumulate and the findings were generally supportive of the programs (see Dulay & Burt, 1978; Troike, 1978). Bolstered by this research, reauthorization should have been easily accomplished. But critics had also found their voice, and the 1978 hearings gave them a national forum. Noel Epstein's (1977) *Language, Ethnicity and the Schools* became a much cited source in the attacks on government funding of bilingual education, even though his position was strongly criticized by some of

the very people he had relied on for support (see Fishman, 1978).

The Congressional committee heard more substantial criticism from Malcolm Danoff (1977) of the American Institutes for Research (AIR). Under his direction, this organization had conducted a study which less than four years after its uncertain beginnings had concluded that Title VII did not appear to have a significant impact in meeting the goals of the legislation. Although the study was severely criticized on methodological grounds by O'Malley (1978) of the National Institute of Education, the findings received wide publicity from the press and became a rallying point for the opposition during the 1978 hearings. In spite of this formidable opposition, bilingual education in 1978 was retained in language close to the original legislation, but the handwriting was on the wall.

In 1980, the Lau Remedies, which encouraged the use of the native language in the bilingual/bicultural education of SOLs, were reviewed by the newly created Department of Education and its first Secretary, Shirley Hufstedler. Formal regulations, mandating bilingual instruction in any public school enrolling 20 or more speakers of a given language, emerged from that review but were never implemented. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan took office and the regulations were withdrawn soon thereafter. His election also led to a softening of the government's advocacy role in civil rights. As a result, both Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, which had provided legislative support for the Bilingual Education Act, were badly weakened. Thus began the erosion of efforts to provide bilingual education to SOLs.

Programs for the Gifted and Talented in the 1980s

According to Zettel (1982), Reagan's election also affected GAT programs. In the 1980s, those programs were caught in a political power struggle with a new president who had vowed to reduce the growing federal role in domestic affairs, particularly in education. The "New Federalism" espoused by President Reagan was intended to reverse the shift of educational power away from the states and local agencies and onto the federal government begun during the Johnson presidency. That trend had been driven by the earlier administration's effort to eliminate inequality of opportunity for the economically disadvantaged and for marginalized groups such as women, racial minorities, the handicapped, the gifted and talented, and linguistic minorities (USDE, 1984). President Reagan's policies were designed to reverse this shift through decreases in federal requirements, consolidation of federal education programs, and reductions in the amount of federal money appropriated for education.

One decision of the new administration which turned out to be significant with respect to federal gifted and talented policy was the elimination in 1981 of the Office of the Gifted and Talented in the Department of Education. The move had been recommended by Zettel and Ballard (1978), who had argued for eliminating

the office and consolidating it with The Council for Exceptional Children. Their intention was to broaden the base of support for gifted children by including them in the exceptional child category or concept. "They did not anticipate the rapidity with which the political climate would change and they also underestimated the significance of the symbolic role of the office, which focused national consciousness on the plight of gifted children" (Fetterman, 1988, p. 236).

Federal policies for the GAT were also greatly affected in 1982 when funding for education changed from categorical federal grants to state level block grants (also called Chapter 2 under the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981). This act resulted in the federal government effectively removing itself from GAT education (Kraver, 1983). Theoretically, this funding change was supposed to allow the states to set their own priorities among the categorical activities and draw their attention to the general improvement of education rather than to narrow categories of activities (USDE, 1984).

The move from categorical to block grants caused grave concern on the part of many advocates. They felt that the progress achieved at the federal level, which had been motivated by the findings of *The Marland Report*, would again wane without direct appropriation. Nonetheless, contrary to expectations, a longitudinal study begun in 1976 (Zettel, 1982) indicated that the following significant developments had already occurred in state policy toward the delivery of services for gifted and talented children:

> 1) Overall, funding for gifted and talented education had seen, by 1982, a 112 percent increase over the past five years;
> 2) Thirty-nine states had legislation that mentioned or defined gifted and talented children;
> 3) Forty-eight states reported having individuals at the state level who devoted 50 percent or more of their time to gifted and talented education;
> 4) Nineteen states required or suggested the use of due process procedures in the identification, evaluation, and placement of their gifted and talented children;
> 5) Forty-three states indicated that they served a total of 766,759 gifted and talented students during the 1979-80 school year. This figure represented over a 16 percent increase in the number of children so served over the previous year and a 100 percent increase in the number served over the past five years. (Zettel, 1982, p. 63)

The depth of commitment to GAT programs that these developments represent is truly surprising. It suggests that policies endorsing the provision of GAT programs must have found a sympathetic audience among state decision-makers, since these programs did not have the force of law behind them, nor did they attract funds from the federal government.

Government Funding

Since the mid-1980s, there has been renewed interest in GAT education, due in part, to the "excellence" movement in education. This interest has been fueled mainly by strong support on the part of the states, considerable pressure from advocacy groups spearheaded by parents who believe their children need these programs, and perceptions that special services for GAT children would keep the country from losing its edge in the international market.

As fears of economic inferiority grow, the federal government is once again returning to the concept of gifted children as a national resource to be cultivated, as it did in the post-Sputnik period and again in the early 1970s. This is clear in the language of the last federal law with respect to GAT children, the Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Students Education Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-297, April 28, 1988) (Stone, 1990). This act declares that not only are gifted and talented children a "national resource" vital to "the security and well being of the nation," but their potential during their elementary and secondary years of education must also be recognized and nourished. In an attempt to consolidate excellence and equity concerns, the Act acknowledges that those gifted children "at greatest risk of being unrecognized," and thus underserved, are the economically disadvantaged ones. Significantly, the Javits Act encourages the federal government to stimulate research and provide technical assistance to those state and local educational agencies unable to provide appropriate programs for the gifted.

In spite of these intentions, however, 1987 enrollment patterns suggest that GAT continues to underserve students from racial and linguistic minority groups:

Minority Group	Percentage of General Enrollment	Percent Enrolled in Gifted Programs
Caucasians	71.2%	81.4%
Blacks	16.2%	8.4%
Hispanics	9.1%	4.7%
Asians	2.5%	5.0%

As the 1980s drew to a close, GAT remained a program driven by national political interests. Its legislative support is based on a view of childhood giftedness as a national resource which must be nurtured for the sake of the national interest. The personal and pedagogical needs of gifted children are not often promoted by decision-makers, although they remain the concern of their parents and of scholars in the field.

Unwillingness to justify the GAT programs on the basis of pedagogical need is evident in the lack of judicial support for GAT programs. Up to now, there has been no federal mandate for the provision of gifted and talented education. Indeed, "attempts to enlarge the educational entitlement of gifted students through litigation based on the federal constitution and federal legislation have been consistently unsuccessful..." (Zirkel & Stevens, 1987, p. 317).

The case of *Irwin v. McHenry School District and the State of Illinois* was intended to provide such a mandate. In 1979, a suit was filed in Illinois against the School Directors of the McHenry Community Consolidated School District and the state. The suit claimed that the lack of a gifted program denied a 10-year-old boy protections found in both the Illinois Constitution and school code that provided for the optimal educational development of all persons. The defendant's father, a lawyer, filed a complaint alleging that the schools had failed to promulgate a curriculum designed to meet the special needs of his child. The suit, *Thomas Irwin v. School Directors of McHenry Community Consolidated School District No. 15, et. al.* (1980), was filed after the district, as a result of a fiscal deficit, retracted a plan to provide high school Spanish instruction to the boy (Smith & Barresi, 1982).

The relief sought in the suit included the provision of curriculum designed to meet the special needs of Irwin, to hire qualified faculty, and one million dollars in damages for "irreparable and continuing harm." The suit alleged that the failure to provide appropriate services had resulted in behavioral and emotional disorders in the plaintiff. In 1980, the court ruled that, since the Illinois education policies do not extend to the gifted, there was no cause for action. The plaintiff did not appeal (Smith & Barresi, 1982, p. 80).

Advocates for the gifted have continued to be interested in the possibility of pursuing litigation claiming that gifted children are being denied equality of educational opportunity as guaranteed by the due process and equal protection clauses of the Constitution. This was, of course, the constitutional basis of the Supreme Court's *Lau* decision. However, despite attempts to use legislative authority and case law precedents established for other educational minorities to redress the grievances of gifted children, no viable foundation for legal action has yet been found specifically for the gifted (*Roper Review*, 1986).

Bilingual Education in the 1980s

Bilingual education was the victim of far more than the New Federalism of the 1980s. It was not only the shift of fiscal responsibility back to the state and local levels that affected these programs. There was also hostility on the part of the new administration in Washington, a hostility reminiscent of turn of the century rhetoric demanding the Americanization of immigrants. Shortly after his election, President Reagan, in an address to the National League of Cities, heralded a drastic change in climate for BE in Washington. He characterized bilingual programs as "absolutely wrong and un-American" (Reagan, 1981). Instead of demanding compliance with legislative and judicial mandates, the Reagan White House engaged in activities directed at discrediting bilingual education.

The President's position was supported by a large portion of the public and by most of the popular media. And it encouraged the movement for "US English," organized in 1983 as an offshoot of a Washington-based lobby advocating

restrictions on immigration.[2] The organization promoted fears of cultural balkanization and called for laws against the use of languages other than English. English, the country's "social glue," was being subverted, they claimed, and bilingual schooling and bilingual ballots were to blame. Their message found a receptive audience. In 1986, California passed Proposition 63, declaring English the official language of the state. A year later, the nation's most detailed and prescriptive bilingual education law was no more (Crawford, 1989).

In true American tradition, the opposition to bilingual education sought to wrap itself in scientific evidence by attacking the pedagogical value of BE. An important contribution toward this end was made by the Baker/de Kanter report issued (in draft form and before the customary departmental review) to the press in September of 1981. Although the authors at first claimed to have conducted an independent study, they later acknowledged that it had been initiated "at the request of the White House Regulatory Analysis and Review Group for an assessment on the effectiveness of bilingual education" (Seidner & Seidner, 1982). Once again, although the report was roundly criticized on methodological grounds by many researchers, it succeeded in gaining the attention of the media and in providing "scientific" support to opponents of bilingual education.

During the 1984 hearings, Congress stood steadfast in spite of vehement opposition by the Reagan administration. Legislators insisted on the preservation of native language instruction for at least 96 percent of the funded programs. At that time, Congress noted that "transitional bilingual education" included a mandate to use native language instruction "to the extent necessary for LEP (sic) students to achieve grade promotion and graduation standards."

By 1988, Congressional support had been eroded and BE was significantly weakened. Leading the demand for change was former Secretary of Education William Bennett, who spent much of his 1985-1988 tenure undermining BE. Before the 1988 reauthorization hearings, he had proposed removal from the legislation of the specific reserved funds for programs using the students' native language. His department cited the supposed ambiguity in research and evaluation reports as the reason to oppose continuation of that requirement.

Bennett's interpretation was questioned by advocates of BE and led Augustus Hawkins, the Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, to request the Government Accounting Office (GAO) to conduct an independent review of the research evidence in BE. The purpose was to find out whether or not the research evidence supported the use of the students' native language in instruction. Their review culminated in a GAO report: *Bilingual Education: A New Look at the Research Evidence* (1987).

The GAO approached the problem in a unique way. They asked a team of experts to compare Department of Education statements citing research in support of proposed changes in the law with available BE research evidence. These experts were, in essence, asked to judge whether department spokepersons were justified

in citing research evidence to substantiate their positions. The ten experts, five selected by the GAO, and five who had been either nominated by Department of Education officials or cited by them in reference to bilingual education policies, were asked to respond in relation to five issues. They are as follows:

> 1) The strength of the research evidence in support of the use of the native-language to help students achieve competence in English;
> 2) The strength of the research evidence in support of requiring the use of the native-language in teaching other subjects;
> 3) The merit of alternative approaches;
> 4) The causal relationship between bilingual education and long-term educational outcomes;
> 5) And, finally, whether or not the Department of Education was justified in stating that the evidence on the use of native languages in instruction was so ambiguous as to prevent firm conclusions.

The analysis of the research evidence carried out by these ten experts did not support the statements issued by officials of the Department of Education. The expert panel called into question the Department's tendency to claim "research evidence" to legitimate official positions. Contrary to official statements, the experts found sufficient evidence to support the law's requirement of the use of native language to the extent necessary to reach the objective of learning English as well as other subjects. They also found the Department incorrect in its assumption that the evidence supported teaching methods [such as immersion[3]] that did not use native languages. None of the experts could connect long-term school problems experienced by Hispanic youths with native-language instruction, and most disagreed with the department's general interpretation that evidence in this field was too ambiguous to permit conclusions and cited a 1982 World Bank report (Dutcher, 1982) endorsing this practice (GAO, 1987).

Advocates of BE were encouraged. The leadership in Congress was friendly to their cause, and the GAO had clearly shown Bennett's penchant for manipulating the data to authenticate his own opposition to BE. In addition, preliminary findings from a longitudinal study commissioned by the USDE revealed that students who remained longer in programs using the native language performed better in English than those who had received most of their instruction in English (Ramírez, 1985). Supporters of BE thought the opportunity had finally arrived for research to influence policy, for science to triumph over politics. However, "In the final outcome, the researchers' view would play no role at all" (Crawford, 1989, p. 80).

Through the years advocates of BE had learned to rely on Senator Edward Kennedy and Representative Hawkins for support of their cause. They expected their backing once again in 1988. However, during that year's reauthorization

hearings, Senator Kennedy, eager to gain support for his own pet project, agreed to a compromise that, in spite of the research evidence, allowed for the sheltering of 25 percent of program grants for what the Department euphemistically called "special instructional programs," otherwise known as immersion or even submersion programs.[4] In addition, the new legislation imposed a limitation of three years on participation in BE programs. According to Crawford (1989), this limitation was passed without hearing "expert advice" and was "based on a gut feeling by Senator [Claiborne] Pell" (p.84).

Two Programs, Two Decades Later...

At the end of two decades of federal involvement in education, GAT had been institutionalized at the state level and a new emphasis on educational excellence was encouraging increased attention to this population. Once again, the value of providing special services to children identified as "gifted" was seen as a counterforce to the nation's economic problems. As the nation's economic predominance became less certain, the nurturance of the intellectual elite became more important.

The story for bilingual education was quite different. From its auspicious beginnings nestled in concerns for equity, it had become the target of a new "Americanization" movement. For the second time in this century, the fear of immigrants and supposed threats to the nation's cohesiveness translated into demands to banish foreign influences.

Ironically, the movement against BE was paralleled by concern about the lack of foreign language competence among the American population and the increased economic competition faced by the United States in the international marketplace. For example, in November, 1980, President Jimmy Carter's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies described the national state of incompetence as "scandalous." During the 1983 Congressional hearings, advocates of U. S. English suggested using the money they expected to save by using alternative methods for teaching English to SOLs to improve and expand foreign language programs (*Youth Policy*, 1984).

Some of the same people who sought to deny BE to SOLs, including Secretary Bennett, were also among the strongest advocates of foreign language instruction and demanded its reinstitution within the high school and academic curricula. Strangely, few seemed to notice the contradiction in these positions, which hinted at the different values attached to languages when they are spoken by poor immigrants or when spoken by the elite (Kjolseth, 1983).

Scholars, in the meantime, pursued their research interests along these two areas of study. And in this aspect as well, the outcomes differed for GAT and BE.

Research Evidence

Gifted and Talented

There has been continuous debate since the 1930s over three main issues in gifted and talented education: 1) identification of the gifted; 2) evaluation of gifted programs; and 3) curriculum differentiation for the gifted (see Borland, 1989; Callahan, 1986; Cassidy & Johnson, 1986; Greenlaw & McIntosh, 1988; Kaplan, 1986; Maker, 1986; Nielsen & Reilly, 1985; Renzulli & Delcourt, 1986; Yarborough & Johnson, 1983). The identification of the target population has been the issue that has received the most attention in the field. Yet, despite over 60 years of debate on the issue, "the precise definition of giftedness remains a question with no universally accepted answer" (Renzulli & Delisle, 1982, p. 723).

Many researchers within GAT education have expressed concern over the lack of a strong research or theoretical base in their field (Borland, 1989; Fetterman, 1988; Weis & Gallagher, 1982; Newland, 1976; Rogers, 1988; Seeley, 1986; Whitmore, 1980). Borland, one of the most notable spokespersons for this movement, has recently stated, "We're a practice without a theory. We don't have a research base, we don't have a knowledge base, we don't have a theoretical base." (interview with Elizabeth Stone, reported in *The New York Times Magazine*, May 1990). Fetterman (1988), an anthropologist and researcher in the field, has also decried the lack of theory in gifted and talented research. He argues that the lack of an overarching theoretical framework and the absence of a theoretical base make the development of gifted and talented programs, at best, a vulnerable and shaky proposition.

In a research review, Whitmore (1980) agreed with Newland's (1976) complaint that research on the gifted had lost the respect of many behavioral scientists because it had failed to keep pace with methodological advances. Newland praised the sophistication and rigor of earlier research, such as that conducted by Terman, Hollingworth, Hobson, and Hildreth, and contrasted it with later research on the gifted which she characterized as "bits and pieces of inquiry" (cited in Whitmore, 1980, p. 33).

Their positions are supported by a 1988 content analysis of literature published in the field of gifted education from January 1975 to December 1986. Rogers found evidence to justify her concern that most "gifted" publications appeared to be "programmatic, think pieces."

In her analysis, Rogers found that:

> a) Only 20 percent of the gifted literature was research-based;
> b) Non-research literature was mostly concerned with curriculum quality and program development, while the research

literature was more focused on student characteristics and identification measures;

c) Journal articles comprised 51 percent of the research reports with doctoral dissertations representing 39 percent of research reporting in the field;

d) The most frequently researched group was elementary aged gifted children, comprising nearly half of all research studies (45 percent);

e) Researchers in the gifted field have not kept current in their selections of designs to answer questions or test hypotheses dealing with 1980s issues in gifted education, namely issues of cognitive processing, changing conceptions of giftedness, problem solving, and metacognition. An important question for researchers in this field to consider is whether or not we are merely reconfirming what we have previously suspected about gifted learners rather than making new discoveries about human intelligence and giftedness. (pp. 3-18)

As she conducted her analysis, Rogers (1988) noted the small percentage of research-based publications. She reported finding no evidence as yet of a real understanding of gifted development and feared such would not be possible until studies became more more focused on specific age groups. Rogers also noticed confusion in the interpretation of research evidence and worried that the problem was likely to worsen as the volume of publications increased.

Research on the Effectiveness of Gifted and Talented Programs

To date, the research evidence on the effectiveness of gifted and talented education is limited. Weiss and Gallagher (1982) reviewed the research and descriptive reports on programs for the gifted and talented and argued that while much of the work in this area reflected weak evaluation designs, there was some evidence for the value or effectiveness of programs, especially in improving creative thinking skills. However, they noted that there was little evidence for the transfer of such skills to other studies or activities in the lives of students. Further, they concluded that education of the gifted "remains a fertile and largely unexplored field" (p. 70). Nielsen and Reilly reiterated their concern in 1985 and suggested the need for more objective experimental research designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of gifted programs and more clearly define all aspects of giftedness. However, the situation had not changed much when Maker noted in 1986 that too little information was available in the numerous reviews of literature and research on gifted education to clearly demonstrate the effectiveness of special programs for gifted students.

Feldhusen (1986), a researcher and strong advocate of gifted education, has

noted that the frenetic development of gifted programs in the United States during the last decade failed to give attention to the operational quality of those programs or their effects on gifted students. He faulted responsible agencies for failing to demand sound evaluations instead of the typical program evaluations calling for a brief visit from a consultant. The evaluations produced as a result, Feldhusen claims, are based, at best on attitudes. He further argued that the field of education of the gifted needed formative evaluations certifying the successful operation of gifted programs.

It appears, then, that leaders in the field of GAT education are among the strongest critics of the weaknesses in their field's knowledge base. It is interesting that, despite their consistent and forcefully expressed concerns, neither the U. S. Department of Education (USDE), nor the state departments of education, have ever demanded a comprehensive evaluation of these programs.

It is interesting to compare these criticisms of the research in GAT with the findings of *The Marland Report*. Among Sisk's (1981) nine findings, number 7 indicated that "siginificant and measurable outcomes" had been produced as a result of GAT services. The disagreement between that conclusion and the criticisms expressed in the literature cited above suggests that the writers of *The Marland Report* were lending a more favorable interpretation to findings found questionable by most scholars in the field.

Bilingual Education

As mentioned earlier, the original legislation for bilingual education was not based on research evidence. However, the topic has been extensively studied since then. Several of the best known studies have been cited already because they were commissioned by various agencies of the federal government in order to evaluate the usefulness of bilingual education: The AIR study (1977), the Baker/de Kanter report (1981), the GAO's (1987), and, most recently, the final report by Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey (1991) which followed, and further confirmed findings from Ramírez' preliminary report of 1985. All have been discussed before in relation to their influence on pending legislation.

Those have been the most comprehensive studies. They have been supported by extensive work on bilingualism and bilingual education in different areas of research, such as linguistics, cognitive psychology, and anthropology. The research knowledge base supporting bilingual education is, in fact, so extensive, as to preclude a full review here. Instead, we will touch on several exemplary studies from three perspectives, namely: research about bilingualism, research about bilingual education, and research about the effects of bilingual education.

Research about Bilingualism

Most of the research conducted until the early 1960s concluded that bilingual-

ism was a language handicap (Darcy, 1963; Macnamara, 1966). This research was sharply questioned in 1962 by Peal and Lambert, who attributed the negative findings of earlier studies to the failure to differentiate degrees of bilingualism. They distinguished between "pseudobilinguals" and "true bilinguals," the latter having mastered both languages in childhood and being able to communicate effectively in both. Bilingual children performed better than monolinguals in a series of cognitive tests when these variables were appropriately controlled. Evidence of the sturdiness of the findings reported by Peal and Lambert is that they have been replicated many times since then.

In a review of the literature on bilingualism, Díaz (1985) listed a number of studies which showed the advantages of bilingualism: "...in measures of conceptual development (Liedtke & Nelson, 1968; Bain, 1974), creativity (Torrance *et al*, 1970), metalinguistic awareness (Cummins, 1978), semantic development (Ianco-Worrall, 1972) and analytical skills (Ben-Zeev, 1977)" (p. 72). Díaz then added his own research within groups of bilingual children. He found that children with higher levels of bilingual proficiency performed at a higher level than their peers on measures of analogical reasoning and tests of spatial relations.

Kessler and Quinn (1987) also found cognitive advantages when they compared sixth-grade bilingual children in a southwestern barrio school to private school Anglo children in the same grade in the northeast. They found that the bilingual children from the barrio exceeded the performance of the Anglo children in scientific thinking in spite of the Anglo children's superior reading level (7.38 compared to 3.0). Barrio children from San Antonio achieved higher scores in all measures: In their ability to generate more (1945 to 579) and higher quality (176 to 53) scientific hypotheses; to use more complex metaphors (26 to 19); and to produce more syntactically complex statements (182 to 130) while attempting to solve science problems.

The consistency of these findings is notable. It shows that true bilinguals, as defined by Peal and Lambert (1962), can gain access to a variety of cognitive benefits. Unfortunately, the advantages that can accrue to children who become "true bilinguals" through the maintenance of their native language, while simultaneously learning English, are likely to be lost to most SOL students. Policies endorsing transitional bilingual education, or worse, those endorsing immersion, concentrate on the rapid acquisition of the second language through obliteration of the vernacular or native language. These policies are considered to be destructive in several ways. First, when a high prestige, socially powerful language such as English is introduced as the exclusive language of instruction, children are being exposed to what has been called "subtractive" bilingualism. That is, they are forced to lose their native language in the process of learning the majority language (Cummins, 1979). This not only robs them of their cultural heritage, but is also likely to impede effective learning of the second language. Second, and perhaps even more important, is the potentially devastating cognitive risk run by minority

language children when they are forced to put aside the language upon which they have relied to think and express themselves since infancy, as though all knowledge accumulated up to the point of entrance into school were useless. In contrast, children who acquire "additive" bilingualism, that is, those who are allowed to retain and expand their native language as they add English to their linguistic repertoire, are heirs to the benefits described above.

Cummins (1986) has argued that the cognitive advantages to be derived from bilingualism are the result of additive bilingualism, that is, the result of learning a second language without losing the first. Cummins further posits that for children to gain the benefits of bilingualism, they may need to reach a threshold level of competence in their first language. For children with a high level of competence in their native language, particularly in what he calls "context-reduced" communication, such as that which is characteristic of classrooms, the language of instruction may be irrelevant. However, many language minority children may be proficient in "context-embedded" communication but lack experience in context-reduced communication. Context-embedded communication is characteristic of social interactions outside the classroom when understanding is aided by contextual and paralinguistic cues. Thus a child may appear to be proficient in the native language and yet lack the competence in context-reduced communication that predisposes students for academic success.

The theories espoused by Cummins support early emphasis on the child's vernacular language and delay of second language instruction. The value of this instructional strategy was demonstrated in the practice in the late-exit programs studied by Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey (1991) and described below.

Research about Bilingual Education

As noted earlier, both the AIR study of 1977 and the Baker/de Kanter report of 1981 were criticized for the researchers' lack of discrimination among various programs purporting to be "bilingual education." In Willig's (1985) "partial replication" of the Baker/de Kanter review, bilingual programs consistently produced small to moderate differences favoring bilingual education. Willig concluded that the predominance of inadequate research designs, and inappropriate comparisons of children in bilingual programs to children who were dissimilar in many crucial aspects, had done a disservice to bilingual education: "In every instance where there did not appear to be crucial inequalities between experimental and comparison groups, children in bilingual programs averaged higher than the comparison children on criterion instruments" (p. 312).

As previously reported, the GAO's panel of experts also concluded that the weight of the findings from the research favored the use of the native language and, further, that there was no support for the Department of Education's encouragement of immersion strategies.

The most recent endorsement of bilingual education can be found in the study by Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey, initiated in 1983 but not officially released until February of 1991. The study was a comparison of immersion programs with two types of bilingual education programs. In one, called "early exit," students are expected to exit by the end of second grade and receive only minimal instruction in their native language; in the other, "late exit," students remain in the program until the sixth grade and receive a minimum of 40 percent of their instruction in their native language. The researchers found that students in the immersion and early exit programs experienced a slowing down in the rate of growth in mathematics, English, and reading skills as grade level increased. In contrast, the growth curves for students in the late exit programs experienced not only continued growth but acceleration in the rate of growth, thus appearing to gain on students in the general population. It should be noted that the study did not include testing in Spanish. We do not know, but can assume, that those children who continued receiving Spanish language instruction through the sixth grade also achieved a higher level of proficiency in the Spanish language. Thus they did not only achieve at a faster rate, but they did so while mastering two languages. This is an achievement not usually available to the general elementary school population. Although the study has been criticized for methodological weaknesses by the National Academy of Sciences in a Department of Education commissioned review, its findings were not dismissed. In spite of the limitations of the study the NAS recognized "elements of positive relationships that are consistent with...results from other studies and...support the theory underlying native language instruction in bilingual education" (NAS, 1992).

Research about the Effects of Bilingual Education

The notion that bilingualism impedes the educational achievement of Hispanic students is also belied by data from several studies. In 1981, García found positive associations with bilingualism among Latinos. He found that when Spanish dominant homes enhanced the Spanish fluency of children, the offspring developed higher levels of self-esteem, more ambitious economic plans, greater assuredness of achieving such plans, greater locus of control, and higher grades in college. Nielsen and Lerner (1982) considered three measures of school achievement: educational aspirations, grade point average, and age. They found ability and socioeconomic status to be the strongest determinants for achievement, effects that are well substantiated in the literature. However, they also found that Hispanicity was the third strongest determinant of aspirations. That is, among the group of Spanish/English bilinguals, those who used Spanish more often also had higher aspirations. Conversely, English proficiency had no significant effect on these students' aspirations. And using data from the National Center for Education Statistics' "High School and Beyond" study, Fernández and Nielsen (1986) found

that exposure to Spanish during upbringing was not a handicap but an asset. Greater Spanish proficiency was associated with greater achievement in both verbal and nonverbal tests. Thus, the research evidence for the benefits of bilingual education, and specifically, for the maintenance of students' native language competence, is quite positive.

The research evidence in bilingual education points to the potential academic, cognitive, and linguistic benefits that could be gained by SOLs who are allowed to maintain their native languages as they learn English. Such evidence could provide useful guidance for policy-makers interested in advancing the pedagogical interests of SOLs. Unfortunately, this voluminous knowledge base has not been used to inform policy. Decisions about BE, as those about GAT, have been guided not by the research evidence, but by socio-political pressures.

Comparison of Bilingual and Gifted and Talented Education

Impact of the Political Climate

The similarities in the evolution of these two programs are striking. Both were, of course, products of the political climate of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Education for the GAT came first, propelled by the perception of a Soviet threat and fears for our national safety. It was a legislative response to the need to seek excellence in education. This wave of activity was followed by a different set of concerns: demands for equity. These were inspired by the rising pressure from historically marginalized groups determined to gain their full rights of citizenship. Under those pressures, Congress finally crossed the invisible barrier that led into federal funding for education in the mid-1960s. Political interests extended that funding to language minority populations and BE was born.

In the 1980s, funding for both GAT and BE programs was gradually weakened as a result of President Reagan's "New Federalism." The curtailment of categorical funding in favor of "block grants" allowed far more latitude to the states. But this increased latitude was not accompanied by more rigorous oversight from the federal government and lax implementation followed. Nevertheless, GAT benefitted from increased concern about American competitiveness and therefore a willingness on the part of state agencies to fund such programs. Bilingual education, on the other hand, suffered from its association with poor immigrant populations. The program came under attack from the White House and from popular movements such as "US English" who saw bilingualism as a threat to the nation.

Both of these programs have relied on advocacy for their survival. Through the years friends in Congress have provided essential support. Until his death Senator Javits could be counted upon by advocates of GAT education. And, for BE,

Senator Kennedy had been, until the hearings of 1988, a reliable advocate. Beyond Congress, each of these programs has also been supported by its client community. Organized parent groups, and individual parents, have played an important role in convincing decision-makers of the value of GAT programs (Ehrlick, 1982). Indeed, as Gallagher (1983) has pointed out: "Parents of gifted students often hold powerful community positions, and can be effective far beyond their numbers" (p.8).

The parents and communities that support BE, on the other hand, are not powerful. They are often poor, many are recent immigrants, they belong to the "colored" minorities, and tend to speak with an accent. The voices most often heard are those of community activists who, having cut their teeth in the civil rights struggle, are often perceived as shrill and demanding. But it is unlikely that BE would have survived without the leadership provided by groups such as *La Raza* and *Aspira*.

GAT is propelled by a national perception that economic predominance in the world depends on the nurturance of the nation's most talented students. Legislative backers of GAT have not been driven by the needs of children but by those national concerns. Simultaneously, GAT provides a program that has historically drawn from the upper socio-economic layers of the population. In recent years it has provided a convenient escape hatch for those who are upwardly mobile but unable to finance a private school education for their children. They can now remain in the public schools as participants in GAT programs (Stone, 1990). It serves a patriotic function, and it pleases a demanding, vocal, and economically powerful segment of the population. These characteristics facilitated institutionalization at the state and local levels, even as federal support faltered. And they also contribute to an easy acceptance of GAT programs in spite of the absence of evidence of their pedagogical value.

Bilingual education, in comparison, is perceived as a threat. In spite of the national concern for competence in foreign languages, no economic benefits are attached to these programs. In fact, although they reach only 10 percent of the eligible population, BE programs are blamed for the lack of high school completion, subsequent unemployment, and welfare dependency of Hispanic populations. That is, they are associated with economic losses rather than with economic gains. Additionally, BE serves mostly the marginalized and disenfranchised. These are not politically dangerous populations, and voting for programs that may benefit their children is less likely to result in political benefits than voting against such programs, particularly if the programs have been targeted as national liabilities.

Pedagogical Value

It may be because of these differences that these two programs, both of which

claim pedagogical value, have been subjected to vastly different treatments. As we have seen, gifted and talented programs persevere in spite of substantial problems. Supporters agree that the field lacks a theoretical base, and that there is, as yet, no accepted definition for gifted and talented. Supporters also acknowledge that there is no agreement regarding the type of curriculum such students should be offered even when the target population has been identified. And many GAT programs have been criticized for their inappropriateness (Borland, 1989; Callahan & Caldwell, 1986; Gallagher, 1981; Kaplan, 1981; Renzulli, 1975, 1977a; Stone, 1990; Ward, 1980). In addition, GAT education continues to lean toward exclusivity in spite of the inclusion of specific language regarding minority populations in the 1988 legislation (Javits GAT Education Act). Renzulli was recently quoted as saying "as for minorities, we've kind of been at the lip-service level for a long time" (interview with Elizabeth Stone, reported in *The New York Times Magazine*, May 1990). This is evident in the 1987 enrollment patterns displayed earlier.

Concern about the elitist image of the program has led supporters to advocate "broadening the base of identification to include single-area achievers, gifted under-achievers, gifted minority students, and others" (Faxon, 1983, p. 39). In fact, Donna Farrar of The Council for Exceptional Children (personal communication, October 14, 1990), considered this linking of gifted and talented with services to children who are traditionally overlooked, an "integral" part in getting the 1988 Javits Gifted and Talented Education Act approved by Congress.

In the meantime, bilingual education continues to be the subject of suspicion and scrutiny. Although the strategy was endorsed and recommended by the World Bank (Dutcher, 1982), although the Supreme Court has recognized the special educational needs of speakers of other languages (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974), and in spite of a sturdy research base endorsing its pedagogical value, bilingual education continues to be subjected to criticism. It should be noted that the criticism is not directed at the quality of existing programs, but rather at the very existence of BE as an instructional method. Two items published in 1991 in the *Arizona Republic* illustrate the media's unwillingness to recognize any value in BE. The first item was an Associated Press release on the Ramirez, et al. study. Here it was noted, correctly, that BE programs helped "Spanish-speaking children excel in school" (*Arizona Republic*, February, 1991). The second was the lead editorial, titled "The bilingual trap" and published just two months later. As its title suggests, the writers used the space to blame the lack of achievement of Hispanic students on BE (*Arizona Republic*, April, 1991).

It is ironic that it was a demand for foreign language instruction in Spanish which led Irwin to sue the McHenry Community Consolidated School District on behalf of his supposedly gifted child. What Irwin apparently considered as a special opportunity for his son is considered a sign of deficiency for many students. Lambert and Taylor (1986) found that middle-class, Anglo parents considered bilingualism developed through schooling to be a social, intellectual, and career

advantage for their own children, while simultaneously opposing native language instruction for language minority students. Those children, they argued, needed to learn English.

It is for this reason that, while it is possible for GAT to be magnanimous in its definition and to engage in a search for those elusive gifted children among minority populations, BE can never cross over and become, as suggested by the Carnegie Commission (Pifer, 1980) and the Academy for Educational Development (1981), part of a national effort at advancing the nation's competence in foreign languages. Muller (1980) has noted that bilingualism in the United States has been a stigma of recent immigration rather than a learned achievement, and that BE has retained a connection with poverty and deficiency since its initial 1968 legislation. A program associated with excellence can aim for increased equity, but it is not possible for a program associated with equity concerns to be also a source of excellence.

This lack of symmetry appears to be related to the association of excellence with qualities which are perceived to be the sole property of majority populations. It is apparently impossible for minority populations to possess a valued skill, and increased equity and opportunity for minority groups cannot result in a broadening of the pool of qualified individuals but rather it becomes a threat to excellence. That threat, according to Stone (1990), has led to increased interest in GAT. In contrast, in spite of dramatic growth in the number of SOL children,[5] and of increasingly solid evidence about the pedagogical value of BE, the number of students enrolled in Title VII programs decreased by seven percent between 1980 and 1990. Fewer than ten percent of eligible students are now participating in such programs.

It is evident that there is more at work here than pedagogical interest. If that were to be the prevailing influence, bilingual education would not just be available to a small percentage of the eligible population; it would be required for all students who qualify. In fact, given the evidence for the cognitive advantages children can gain from bilingual competence, BE should be one of the basics of schooling. It might provide a real advantage in the international marketplace where American monolingual business people are handicapped in their competition with polyglots from all over the world.

Socio-political pressures, rather than pedagogical interests, have shaped the evolution of these programs and their current condition. Their respective developments have been associated with changes in the political climate that have emphasized one or another goal, and with the relative social influence of those who advocate their adoption and those who are to benefit from them. Finally, these programs have been, in turn, assisted and handicapped by their ability to fit into the country's notions about education and its purposes. Conventional wisdom suggests that GAT rewards those who are talented and enhances the country's competitiveness, while BE coddles those who are helpless and contributes to the disintegration of the country. It is no wonder that only one of these programs

receives unqualified and prompt endorsement while the other one continues to battle for its life.

Notes

1. The authors find the label "Limited English Proficient" unpalatable on two counts: 1) It denigrates students' capacities on the basis of their lack of exposure to English; and 2) Its acronym "LEP" is unfortunately reminiscent of another marginalized group. For this reason we have chosen to refer to such students as "Speakers of Other Languages." A label that recognizes existing skills and results in a much more positive acronym: "SOL."
2. The anti-immigration lobby which gave birth to "US English" was the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). A measure of its popularity was that, by 1988, the new organization was five times larger than the parent organization. For a full account of the "official English" movement see: Crawford, James, 1992, "What's Behind Official English?" In James Crawford (Ed.), *Language Loyalties: A Sourcebook on the Official English Controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
3. Immersion programs use only the second language as the medium of instruction. This method was implemented in Canada where monolingual English speakers were placed in classrooms where French was the only medium of instruction. Its success in that setting gave impetus to an effort in this country to use immersion as a substitute for bilingual education. Researchers responsible for the Canadian program have consistently argued that the success of their program with middle- and upper-class English monolinguals is **not** transferrable to the United States setting. See, for example, Lambert, Wallace E., 1984, "An Overview of Issues in Immersion Education" in *Studies in Immersion Education: A Collection for US Educators*. Sacramento: California State Office Bilingual Bicultural Education; and Tucker, G. Richard, 1986, "Implications of Canadian Research for Promoting a Language Competent American Society." In Joshua A. Fishman *et al.*, *The Fergusonian Impact, Vol. 2, Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyer.
4. Submersion is also known as the "sink-or-swim" approach. It is what happens to language minority children when they are placed in English-only classrooms. The Supreme Court's *Lau* decision declared such an approach unconstitutional, but it continues to exist de facto in many classrooms.
5. The number of people five years and older who speak languages other than English in their homes increased by more than 40 percent between November 1979 and November 1989.

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The Challenge of Peace Education: Do Our Efforts Make a Difference?

By Ian M. Harris

> The truth of the matter would seem to be that we don't know what effect, if any, modern peace education may be having on the world scene. Since its resources are very scarce indeed, and since time is at least part of the essence, it would seem to be desirable to analyze as best we can at the present time just what it is that we hope to accomplish with peace education and to evaluate and change our efforts in accordance with how well they seem to be accomplishing this purpose. (Eckhardt, 1987, 65)

Ian M. Harris is a professor in the Department of Educational Policy and Community Studies, College of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Peace education teaches students about the problems of violence and nonviolent alternatives (John, 1990). Historically, in the United States, there have

been peace education efforts for over one hundred years (Fink, 1980). Interest in peace education seems to have a cyclical relationship with threats of violence. Peace education began after the civil war, rising out of concern for the destructiveness of modern weapons. After that war, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell were among the educational leaders arguing that educators had an important role to play in counteracting the violent behavior of the human species (Renna, 1980). Before the second world war, Maria Montessori (1949) travelled around Europe attesting to peace education as an antidote to fascism. After that war, Herbert Read (1955) claimed that peace education was indeed an important way to counteract the problems of violence in society. But there wasn't much interest in peace education in the United States until the 1970s, when educators started to figure out what they could do in their classrooms to help counteract some of the militarist tendencies of the United States government (Henderson, 1973). This interest grew to new heights in the middle 1980s, when concerned educators turned to peace education to address the threat of nuclear war, which was augmented by Ronald Reagan's bellicose rhetoric about winning a nuclear war (Keen, 1990).

Recently, peace education has grown rapidly in the United States. By the end of the 1980s, over 200 colleges and universities had initiated peace studies programs (Thomas & Klare, 1989). The state of Oregon in 1988 mandated peace education for all its schools. Public school districts in cities as large as Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Berkeley, California; and Hartford, Connecticut, have endorsed resolutions requiring peace education at all levels. Bishops' letters and pastoral statements from the leaders of major religious denominations have prompted parishes and synagogues to sponsor classes, forums, workshops, and gatherings on peace themes. Most of these peace education activities have focused on the nuclear threat.

To date, there has been little research done to determine what happens as a result of peace education classes. Eckhardt (1987), in an essay quoted at the beginning of this article, states that peace education is obviously not having the desired effect because of rising levels of violence on this planet. Harris (1988), in his book *Peace Education*, mentions that peace education classes have a ripple effect, where one person who acts peacefully influences the behavior of others, and that person in turn acts in such a way to inspire another to be more peaceful, etc., but these effects are hard to measure systematically. Most studies have been conducted on college students with little research focussed on the effects of such peace oriented curricula as Montessori methods, Waldorf schools, peer mediation, etc.—all of which have an avowed goal of teaching students to be more peaceful.

One study states that peace studies can make a difference in value orientation, e.g., that students who take peace classes become more oriented towards compassion, away from compulsion; towards internationalism and pacifism, away from militarism and nationalism; towards egalitarianism, away from authoritarianism; towards peace, and away from law and order (Eckhardt, 1984). But this study

lacked a control group, so it's hard to know exactly what caused the changes in value orientation observed with that small sample of students. Kemp (1987) duplicated this study with a control group, but found no significant changes in students' value orientation towards peace (1987). Other studies have demonstrated cognitive changes as a result of peace education efforts (French, 1984; Lyou, 1987). Typically, questionnaires administered both before and after a peace education event showed that participants exhibited new attitudes and understandings. Feltman concluded from his study:

> The results indicate that the students who took the War and Peace course showed significant changes in peace attitudes towards more internationalism as compared to the other groups of students who were not exposed to peace education. It appears that peace education can cause changes toward peaceful attitudes in an academic setting. (1986, 70)

This paper will examine the impact of peace studies courses upon students at the college and university level. Do students change their attitudes and beliefs as a result of taking a peace studies course? Do students develop more peaceful behaviors after such a course?

Methodology

During the fall semester 1983, the author of this article first taught a course entitled Peace Education. Afterwards, he was interested in what effect this class might have had on students. During the summer of 1984, he again taught the course and designed a brief questionnaire to assess what impact this course was having. That fall, with input from students, a final questionnaire was developed that contained seven questions about defense and nuclear policy, one question about attitudes towards the future, a question asking respondents to rate their level of concern about thirteen different world problems (hunger, energy, the nuclear threat, etc.), a question designed to find out how the respondent obtained information about war, peace, and national security, a question about the respondent's activities concerning war and peace, a question about political philosophy, and an open-ended question about why the respondents took the course, which also contained a place to indicate how long they had been involved in peace issues. The follow-up survey contained an open-ended question about why respondents were or were not actively working for peace (see Appendix A).

The design for this study was as follows. Students filled out an initial questionnaire on the first day of class before instruction began. Each questionnaire was coded so that a student's progress could be tracked throughout the year-and-a-half period covered by the design. At the end of the course, students were given identical questionnaires (without the demographic variables) to see how their attitudes, beliefs, and levels of activity had changed during the semester. One year

later, students were mailed a third identical questionnaire to see what further changes might have occurred. At the same time, questionnaires were distributed to a control group of similar students in a non-peace-studies class. A comparison of the responses of the students in the control group with the responses of the students in peace studies classes would indicate whether the changes could be attributed to the influence of a peace studies course. Follow-up interviews provided further insight into changes in levels of involvement with peace issues.

The questionnaire was designed to test whether students: (1) had adopted attitudes, beliefs, and values that support peace; (2) had adopted a more peaceful lifestyle; and (3) had actively worked for peace (political involvement). Number 1 was measured by student response on a Likert scale to items concerning nuclear issues, defense priorities, and relations between the superpowers. Number 2 was measured by asking students if they had conducted their lives in more peaceful ways. The open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire that asked students to indicate the most useful thing they had learned in this course also shed light on this dimension. Number 3 was measured by a direct question on the follow-up questionnaire (given a year later) that asked whether their level of involvement had remained the same, increased, or decreased, and a number of items where students could indicate the types of activities they had pursued—"I have done nothing," etc.

A validity test for this study was conducted by administering a questionnaire to a group of 30 ROTC students on the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus, whose responses were compared to 30 peace education students who had an average of six years involvement in peace issues. Since it is assumed that peace education students (who took the course because of their concern for peace) would have different responses to the items on the questionnaire than ROTC majors (who are preparing to wage war), only those items that tested to have a statistically significant difference between these two groups would be judged to have validity—a statistical response of $p=<.05$ on a T-Test of the two groups.

Phone interviews were conducted with 16 students who responded to the follow-up portion of the survey (eight from the control group and eight from the peace class sample). These students represented a sample of convenience. The principal investigator tried to contact other students, but he neither could find their telephone numbers nor could reach them. All the students contacted by telephone participated in this stage of the study. These structured interviews lasted 15 minutes and asked students what they had done for peace since taking the class and what impact the class had had upon their attitudes and beliefs.

In 1985, the author decided to conduct this study with classes other than his own in order to measure the responses of students new to peace issues and to distance himself from the subjects studied. During the spring semester 1986, the final study was initiated. Three sites were chosen—two classes in the political science department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, two classes at the University of Missouri at Columbia, and two classes at the University of

Wisconsin-Whitewater—a four-year state-run college located in a rural area. Table 1 below provides the names of these courses and the numbers of students who participated.

Table 1
Description of Sample
(Spring 1982)

Campus & Course Name	Sequence	No.
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater:		
Perspectives on Nuclear War[1]	Intro	44
	Exit	33
	Follow-Up	9
Astronomy[2]	Intro	38
	Exit	23
	Follow-Up	10
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee:		
Politics of Nuclear Weapons[1]	Intro	62
	Exit	32
	Follow-Up	25
Problems in International Relations[2]	Intro	26
	Exit	23
	Follow-Up	8
University of Missouri-Columbia:		
Introduction to Peace Studies[1]	Intro	26
	Exit	17
	Follow-Up	6
War & Peace in American History[2]	Intro	66
	Exit	62
	Follow-Up	12

[1] Peace Studies Class
[2] Control Group

Students at Whitewater were freshmen and sophomores taking basic liberal arts courses. At Milwaukee, students were juniors and seniors with different academic majors. Students at Missouri were freshman and sophomore liberal arts majors. The peace studies classes used in this study were designated by faculty on those campuses as such. The peace studies course at the University of Missouri was the introductory course in a peace studies program on that campus. The course at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater was the only peace studies course offered on that campus, while the peace studies course at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee was part of an inchoate peace studies program, one of six courses offered that semester endorsed by a faculty peace studies network as having a war/peace focus.

The peace class at Whitewater was an interdisciplinary, team-taught class coordinated by three professors. One was from physics (he also taught the Astronomy class used as a control), one was from philosophy, and the other was a biologist. This course, designed to give students better understanding of the problems raised by the development and use of nuclear weapons, consisted of a series of lectures by experts and weekly discussion groups conducted by the three professors who coordinated the course. Students taking this course could fulfill a Letters and Science requirement. Students in both the control and the peace class had similar majors, political beliefs, and levels of involvement in peace issues. The University of Wisconsin-Whitewater is a rural campus with about 8000 students.

The Politics of Nuclear Weapons course at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee was taught by a nationally known expert on the topic. His goal was to immerse students in the complexity of the political issues surrounding nuclear weapons. This course analyzed nuclear doctrine. Many of the students in Politics of Nuclear Weapons were from the schools of engineering and business, while the students in Problems of International Relations were political science majors. These latter students had a more liberal political orientation (as measured by an item on the introductory survey that asked respondents to indicate their political philosophy). The control group for this sample contained mostly political science majors at the upper division level, some of whom had a strong interest in peace issues as measured by an item on the questionnaire asking students to indicate what kinds of activities they had participated in concerning war and peace. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee is a large urban campus with over 25,000 students, most of whom commute.

The two courses at Missouri were taught by the director of peace studies on that campus. The introductory peace studies course attempted to introduce students to the various concerns addressed by peace studies as a major (which is offered on that campus), while the control group, War and Peace in American History, examined problems of war and peace in the United States. The University of Missouri is a large state supported university, the "flag ship" of the Missouri university system. Most undergraduates at this campus live in dormitories.

These instructors' varying academic backgrounds reflect the disparate nature of peace studies. As mentioned above, the instructors for the peace studies course at Whitewater were an interdisciplinary team, none of whom had received training in peace studies. At Milwaukee, the instructor was an expert in international relations with an emphasis in European studies, while at Missouri the professor had a background in American studies. The professor from Milwaukee was a political scientist whose area of expertise is security issues. The professor at Missouri is an expert in peace studies, while the others have not received specific training in this new academic area. The professors at both Missouri and Milwaukee were more familiar with peace paradigms than the interdisciplinary team at Whitewater. The peace studies training these instructors had received varied widely, which reflects the varied nature of peace studies at this time. A more scientific study would have chosen instructors who had training in the field of peace studies and compared the results of their instruction with instructors who had no training in this inchoate field.

For the final analysis, because of the low rate of return for the follow-up questionnaires (23 percent for the control and 30 percent for the peace studies students), all three separate populations of peace studies students and control group students were placed into two categories, and a T-Test was run to compare different responses of all the students taking peace studies classes to those in the control. This proved a problem for this study (see section on "Attitudes and Beliefs" under "Results"), because the samples from the different campuses were not equivalent. The open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire were analyzed with an item analysis to group similarities and provide information about levels of involvement in peace issues.

This study had many methodological problems, which included getting follow-up responses for the follow-up study. When the first two questionnaires were distributed in class, the professor could require the pupils to complete them and collect all of them. The follow-up study had to be mailed, and respondents could choose to respond or not. In this study, 77 percent of the control group and 70 percent of the peace studies students did not return questionnaires. Only those students most interested in the study would take 15 minutes to fill out the survey instrument; therefore, the results of the study may be biased by the reports of those students who care most about these issues. It was impossible one year later to get responses from all the students who had taken those classes, so this paper does not report on the activities of all the students in the classes.

Additional problems plagued this particular experiment. At Milwaukee, students in the control group, Problems in International Relations, had more interest in peace than students in the peace course who took Politics of Nuclear Weapons to meet a Letters and Science requirement. Similar problems appeared with the sample used at the University of Missouri-Columbia. The two classes, Introduction to Peace Studies and Problems of War and Peace in American History,

were not sufficiently different to provide a useful control. It would have been more useful to use a different professor at that campus for the control, but the principal investigator was not able to locate one. Because the two courses at Missouri were taught by the same professor and had similar content, the control group was not distinct.

These methodological problems created problems for the statistical aspects of this study. Because the samples and the control groups were not more rigorously established and the peace studies professors came from such differing backgrounds, the statistical comparisons between the two groups did not prove useful. However, much valuable qualitative information about why students take peace studies courses and how they respond to them did come from this study.

In spite of these problems, this particular sample of peace studies courses does have some value. It represents a wide variety of undergraduate peace studies courses, one with peace studies majors (Missouri) and two with students in more traditional disciplines taking the course to meet academic requirements. The peace studies courses at Missouri and Whitewater were 100-level courses designed for freshmen, while the course at Milwaukee was a 300-level course designed for juniors and seniors. The courses were taught in three different styles—lectures at Milwaukee, lectures with small discussion groups at Whitewater, and small group discussions at Missouri. This sample contains many differing approaches to peace studies and the nuclear dilemma, not only among the students taking the class, but also among the faculty teaching. Such diversity allows the results of the study to neither be tied into one person's teaching style nor the idiosyncratic political values of one population of students.

Results

The results of this study will be presented in four different categories. The first will report responses to the open-ended question about what students hoped to learn in the peace studies courses. The next two parts will analyze the effect of these courses upon students' attitudes and behavior. The final section will describe the follow-up interviews.

What Do Students Hope to Learn in Peace Studies Classes?

One hundred eight students in this sample took courses dealing with nuclear war. Of these 108 students, 92 answered the open-ended question on why they took these courses. An item analysis was done on these responses. A majority (72 percent) wanted more knowledge about the nuclear dilemma. Some of their comments are:

- I hope to learn what can and is being done to reduce the threat of nuclear holocaust. And also learn of the complete history of the development of nuclear weapons.

- A better understanding of nuclear war, the problems that face the world, and am interested in the weapons and statistics of nuclear war.
- Some answers to questions I have. A better understanding of the Nuclear Arms Race. Why so many bombs are available, and why do they keep building more?
- A clearer understanding of our position in the world regarding nuclear war.
- More about U.S. policy as well as that of the U.S.S.R. **Exactly** what our policies are concerning nuclear weapons and the consequences of the policy we are now under as well as any alternative policies.
- The positive and negative effects of nukes and how the future will be affected.
- How to build the appropriate weapons to defend myself from attack!
- About the immediate dangers of nuclear war and what the solutions will be in the long run.

Nine percent wanted to know what could be done about the nuclear situation and thus were interested in specific actions they could take to reduce the nuclear threat. A sample of their comments include:

- What steps can be taken that neither side has taken to end the arms race.
- What I as a person can do to help keep the world from destroying itself.
- I hope to become aware of alternatives and in turn make other people aware of the seriousness of nuclear war.

Thirteen percent were a combination of these two categories, and five percent of the comments did not fall into these categories. Two of these comments are, "How ridiculous this weapons race really is" and "Why this madness continues?" This item analysis indicates that only a few of the students came to the class hoping to learn something that could increase their levels of involvement in nuclear issues.

Responses to this open-ended item from the introductory peace education class at the University of Missouri at Columbia were too diverse to categorize:

- I hope to learn more about others' views toward world peace and the future.
- More about human nature and world relations.
- Hopefully optimism.
- Learn about the root of all problems. Where they come from.
- Different ideas that people have. Ways to help end political misunderstandings and prejudices.
- Solutions to world problems, where we went wrong, what I

can do.

- ◆ An overview of the "peace situation" today.
- ◆ Being in college, students tend to isolate themselves in a world within the campus. I wanted to get out of this and find out what is really happening with the nuclear arms race and other aspects of world peace.

This broad spectrum of comments indicates the wide range of interest in the budding academic discipline "peace studies." Twenty-five percent of the students in this class wanted to know what could be done to reduce the threat of war. Others took the course because they are concerned about levels of violence and are looking for alternatives. These responses point to the need for teachers and professors to teach about the problems of violence, nonviolent methods of dispute resolution, and ways to achieve peace.

Attitudes and Beliefs

For the 58 students who completed the follow-up study, a comparison of the responses to items concerning attitudes towards war and peace did not indicate significant changes. The analyses of student attitude changes prove inconclusive and consequently do not support a major hypothesis of this study, e.g., that students taking a peace studies class would have significantly greater changes in attitude in a more peaceful direction than students in a control group. In the future, such studies must take care to select sample populations and control groups that have similar initial attitudes.

The inconclusive results from the attitude and belief items used in this study can be explained by the unsystematic quality of this study. A study that used more rigorous controls might have evidenced a change in student attitudes and beliefs as the result of taking a peace studies course. Students in this author's Peace Education course have stated strongly that the class has given them much more peaceful beliefs, although such a change was not reported in the samples used in this study. Because of his personal experience teaching at both the college and high school level, this author remains convinced that students can assume a more peaceful consciousness as a result of peace education efforts. Such attitudes and beliefs, observed in studies by Eckhardt, Feltman, and Lyou in articles cited earlier, provide students with knowledge about peace and nonviolence.

Behavior

Most significant were the comments at the end of the questionnaire where students indicated they had changed their lifestyles in peaceful directions as the result of taking a peace studies course. Many students who felt overwhelmed by the complexity of war and peace issues showed their concern by changing behaviors to express their desire to bring peace to the world. The types of changes

that students reported include "using more peaceful means of solving problems in my own personal affairs," "I haven't punched anybody," "taken a spiritual turn," "I am learning to find peace within myself," "I talk softer." Longer quotes that verify these changes are:

- I have placed more emphasis on maintaining peace within myself. If I can do this, it is easier for me to pass it along to family and friends, work, the world and the environment.
- Besides what has already been listed, I believe the most significant effort that I've undertaken is a continual challenging of my thoughts, beliefs, and actions concerning violence in my life. Culturally imposed violence through stereotypes, the media, traditions, etc. is the root, I believe, of an unstable world.
- Learned to meditate so I can become more at peace within myself, so I can become a more loving and peaceful person and have a positive effect on other people and promote peaceful attitudes among other people through example.

Table 2 below provides a summary of student responses to an item asking about their level of involvement with peace issues one year after they had completed the course. Table 2 indicates both a decrease in levels of inactivity related to war and peace issues (15 percent of the peace studies students versus 4 percent of the control group in response to item 1) and an increase in some activities taken by peace education students to promote peace (items 2 and 4). Students further characterized their activities during the follow-up interview with the following comments:

- I am more actively involved in that I promote discussions with friends on this issue—handle it in my own sphere of associates (work) and faculty/friends. I didn't know enough to attempt a stance.
- I am at the same level of involvement but not at the same level of awareness. I talk about it with other people. I try to practice it in my daily living.
- Am learning to find peace within myself. Am learning more about world problems and how to promote peace to enable me to try convincing others that this is an important, urgent problem facing us now.
- Talk about it to anyone who will listen. Hand out information on nuclear threat. Promote a global consciousness. Maintain a greater awareness of political events. Pray a lot!
- I have become keenly interested and involved in peace education involving children and adolescents—decision making, values clarification, self-esteem, and service orientation.

These types of activities are not particularly radical. Only nine percent of those

Table 2
Measures of Activity

Since (or prior to) taking this class, my activities concerning war and peace can best be characterized by which of the following statements:

	Time	Percentage of Respondents	
		Peace Studies Sample (N = 40)	Control (N = 30)
1. I Have Done Nothing	Intro	27	27
	Exit	9	20
	Follow-Up	12	23
2. I Have Tried To Persuade	Intro	36	22
My Friends about the	Exit	46	37
War Threat[1]	Follow-Up	46	39
3. I Have Attended	Intro	33	19
Conferences and Lectures	Exit	73	35
on These Topics[1]	Follow-Up	29	22
4. I Have Participated in	Intro	13	6
Public Demonstrations[1]	Exit	11	8
	Follow-Up	20	13
5. I Have Written Letters	Intro	3	6
about the Dangers of	Exit	9	4
War to my Elected	Follow-Up	11	13
Representatives			
6. I Have Been a Member of	Intro	2	6
a Peace Organization	Exit	9	4
	Follow-Up	11	13
7. I Have Practiced	Intro	8	5
Non-Violent	Exit	5	10
Civil Disobedience	Follow-Up	6	4

[1] Discriminating Variable

students joined a peace organization (who had not been in one before). The percentage of students practicing nonviolent civil disobedience actually declined. The increase in students participating in public demonstrations is the same for both groups.

Table 3 below indicates the difference in levels of activity between the peace

studies students and the control group as reported on item 14 (see Appendix A) that specifically asked students one year after they had completed the class whether they had the same level of involvement in peace activities, or more or less involvement.

Table 3
Percentage of Respondents Becoming More Active on Peace Issues

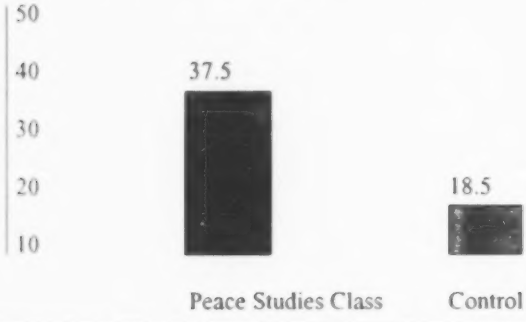

Table 3 indicates that twice as many students who took peace studies classes became active in peace activities than did the control group. Given the unusual nature of these samples, this is an extremely significant finding. It suggests that approximately two out of every five students taking peace studies courses will become more involved in peace activities one year after completing the course. It must be remembered that at the peace studies courses at Whitewater and Milwaukee instructors had no intention to involve students in peace activities. Their intentions were to inform students of the nuclear threat, and students, out of the concern they developed for this threat, acted on their own initiative. The courses taught in Wisconsin made no attempt to teach students what they could do about their concerns about nuclear war. These instructors did not take the orientation provided by Richard Lyou in his course, Nuclear Weapons: Effects, Proliferation, and Control. Lyou had this to say about his course:

> Students were shown how to locate and understand government publications, how to contact, and effectively deal with their representatives in local and national government, and how to generate media interest and coverage. Past cases of successful public efforts to influence public policy were discussed. The course not only included the technical, historical, political, and psychological aspects of the arms race, but also gave ample consideration to the unavoidable question, "But what can I do?" (Lyou, 14)

Instructors of peace education courses used in this study simply provided information about the nuclear threat. Bill Eckhardt warns that such an approach will not have much effect upon students: "Consequently, peace education is likely to have its most fruitful effect by focusing on facts and values rather than by focusing on facts alone" (1987, 68). Anita Kemp supports this warning in the conclusion of her study of the effects of peace education classes upon students:

> The results demonstrate that knowledge alone on nuclear war, the arms race, arms control and disarmament is not adequate to create changes in militarism, nationalism, compulsion, political alienation, personal ineffectiveness or opinions on nuclear war. The students came to class with a set of attitudes and opinions in these areas and left the class with these intact. (Kemp, 18)

With a different population, where students have more progressive political values and stronger pro-peace attitudes and instructors discussed what can be done about the threat of war, one would expect the percentage of students who become more active as a result of taking a peace course to be even greater.

In spite of its limitations, this study did show increased levels of students' involvement as a result of taking peace education classes. Such findings have been duplicated in other studies:

> Evaluations such as these, when taken in the context of measured increases in student knowledge and behavior, may be seen as indicators of enhanced self-efficacy. Hence, beyond the academic role of simple education, these changes may point to peace studies courses as the means by which students discover effective strategies of coping with the threat of nuclear war. (Lyou, 14)

Results of Follow up Interviews

Follow-up interviews (conducted by phone) shed some light on why students do or do not become involved in peace activities as a result of taking a peace course. These classes did have the result of stimulating student interest in war and peace issues. An older student commented that taking this class was like buying a car. Before buying a particular make of car, you don't notice that brand. After buying it you notice how many of that make there are. Another student commented that before taking this course, he used to just read the comics and sports in the newspapers. Now he notices carefully all items related to defense. Previously, he was interested in these issues, but articles on these topics were flat and meaningless. After he took the peace studies class, he understood the terminology of defense debates and was more interested in war and peace issues. His overall awareness has gone up. He realizes there are many different viewpoints and sees issues from different perspectives. In this way, peace studies courses empower

students by demystifying complex national debates about national security.

Some students even went so far as to do their own research and write articles about war and peace topics. At the beginning of the study, 6 percent of the students in both the peace courses and the control group subscribed to peace journals. By the time of the follow-up study, an additional 14 percent of students taking peace studies courses subscribed to such journals. A year after taking the class, 74 percent of the peace studies students were reading books on these topics, while only 39 percent of the control group read such books. What they had learned in class piqued their interest in these topics and helped them interpret news stories they might have otherwise ignored. Whether this new knowledge led them to greater levels of activity is another question indeed.

Some students who did become more active said that this issue is "important for the people today and for future generations." Another commented that she was "more aware of the need for immediate action." For those students who did become active, their activities grew out of a concern they had for the well-being of citizens on this planet.

Intervening variables make it hard for students to become active working for peace. Respondents indicated that they hadn't become more active because of time constraints. Many students in this sample are commuter students who hold jobs. They felt that their careers and lifestyles prevented them from working for peace. Work and school fill up their lives to such a degree that they didn't have additional time to devote to peace issues. One student stated, "Upon graduation, I accepted a job which requires 50-to-60 hours a week of my time. I don't get much time to sleep, much less promote peace movements. Time is the main factor in my inactivity."

Many students commented that they felt overwhelmed by the complexity of the debates surrounding war and peace issues. They also felt that the centers of power for making decisions in these areas are far removed from their lives, and therefore, there was little they could do. One student indicated that he thought it was important to do something, but couldn't see that any actions taken in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, would have an effect on national defense policies. Students did not want to waste their time doing something that would have no result. This same student said in a follow-up interview that he would like to see the leaders change their bellicose rhetoric about nuclear weapons, and even national policies surrounding nuclear weapons, but he doesn't believe that an individual can change nuclear policies. Another student thought this was an extremely important issue but felt helpless: "This big problem seems way out of reach."

This same student says he needs direction about what to do, about how to get started working on such a huge issue. Especially at Whitewater, in rural Wisconsin, students felt, "My campus isn't very involved, and there aren't many activities to attend." Not knowing what to do made it hard for students to become involved in peace issues. One student at Missouri said that things he was learning in class

angered and shocked him: "I couldn't sit around and do nothing about the issues." He went to the teacher outside of class and asked, "Is there anything we can do? You've given us this stuff, which is now making me crazy. Let me get out of this somehow." This professor gave him the names of a couple of peace organizations on campus, and he subsequently has become president of a campus nuclear freeze group, where he sets up educational programs for other students on Tuesday night. At first, the class really shocked him. He said he didn't even know if he would wake up the next morning (because of the nuclear threat). He became cynical and bitter, but now feels more comfortable. He feels the class "woke him up." He no longer feels that he has to change the world immediately, as he did at the beginning, and understands that changes will take a long time and a lot of hard work.

Other students felt that money was an issue. Their constant struggle to raise enough funds to live on left them little time for volunteering for peace and gave them a feeling that there was little they could contribute. One student on the Milwaukee campus tried to get involved in peace organizations, but felt that "all they were asking for was money." Since he didn't have any, he felt he couldn't make a contribution. "If you are a student and broke, your options are limited."

Other students had ideological reasons for not getting involved. They thought that working for peace meant demonstrating against government policies, and they didn't think that demonstrating was effective. One student said that he didn't think that change was desirable. He didn't see anything happening because "any change for either side is terrifying." Another student didn't think that peace was a part of human nature. "There will always be character flaws in people, thus conflict." It therefore made no sense to try to change something as basic as human nature.

Follow-up interviews and student comments indicate that there are many factors that influence whether a particular student will work for peace as a result of taking a peace class. Above and beyond the reasons provided by students for why they had or had not become active working for peace, research shows that certain personality types are more likely than others to become active on social issues (Boulding, 1974). This research, too exhaustive to detail here, indicates that things like a supportive home environment that encourages experimentation, the example of role models, and the ability to imagine alternatives—all play a role in whether or not a particular individual will take the risks necessary to try to change deep-rooted commitments to violence. This study did not delve into all these complex factors, but did find that some students were willing to do something to work for peace as a result of taking a peace education class. It must be remembered that these students live in a violent society and had to come to grips with thousands of messages they have been hearing all their lives concerning the need for a strong defense, the violent nature of the human species, the futility of trying to change things, etc. These messages work against their involvement in peace issues and had to in some way be overcome for them to take initial steps to work for peace. Often the process of overcoming such barriers takes longer than the time covered under

this study. One student commented, "It takes real persistence to become involved." Consequently, it is possible that many more individuals than the percentages indicated here will, during the course of their lives, take on some activities for peace.

Discussion

Studies that attempt to evaluate changes in students as a result of taking a single course are fraught with problems. In terms of evaluating whether a peace studies class stimulated students to work for peace, an ideal study would follow those students throughout their lifetimes to record actions they took that contributed towards peace. Two years ago, when the author of this study was talking to a former professor at Marquette University, a young woman came up to us and said, "Aren't you Dr. DiDimizio? I took a course on nonviolence with you seven years ago. At that time the course had little meaning to me. I enjoyed it, but didn't take personally the things you said in class. Nor did I get involved in peace issues. However, last year it all became clear to me, and now I am working as hard as I can for peace!"

This story illustrates a problem with the above methodology, which tracks students through a 17-month sequence. Students who hadn't within this time become involved with peace activities may at some time in the future become involved, and the course work they took in peace studies could be a significant part of that person's developing commitment to peace. Therefore, this study by no means exhausts the activities that may occur as a result of taking a peace studies course. It does provide a glimpse at those activities over a 17-month period.

This study cannot claim definitively that the actions taken by students to promote peace were the results of taking a peace studies class. Comparing a sample of peace studies students with a control group of students indicates that what occurred in the peace studies class may be a significant variable in causing students to change their attitudes, adopt peaceful behavior, or work for peace; but detailed interviews with each of the 70 students who completed this study would have to be done in order to demonstrate that it was the class that promoted this change in behavior and not some other event in a student's life. There were neither sufficient funds nor enough time to allow the author to interview all these students by phone.

Further problems lie with keeping track of students, who, almost by definition, are transitory. They graduate and move on; they drop out; they move on or off campus; they live with their parents, leave home, etc. Even in the one-year period between the end of the course and the follow-up questionnaire, ten percent of the questionnaires were returned by the post office because it could no longer locate the addressee who had moved.

Conclusions

This study involving 260 undergraduate college students in the midwestern part of the United States has just barely demonstrated the tip of the iceberg of all that is occurring because teachers and instructors are becoming involved in peace education. As school districts throughout the United States endorse resolutions requiring peace studies, evaluations should be designed to indicate how these efforts make a difference. More careful studies with logically distinct samples and controls need to be done in order to determine whether peace education is making students more peaceful and helping them deal with the high levels of violence found in the modern world.

Many teachers on their own are infusing peace and justice concepts into their regular course offerings. What lasting effect do these techniques have upon students? How do they compare to efforts to more directly teach a peace studies course? The answers to such questions will help build a sound pedagogy and rationale for peace education classes. This study does point to some interesting consequences for these kinds of academic endeavors:

1. Need for Courses

This study indicated a high level of student concern about violence and the nuclear threat. Students came to these classes either looking for what they could do about their fears related to violence or feeling threatened. Half the students taking these courses, when indicating why they took the course, used words like "problems," "endangered," "threatened," or "dangers." They come to peace studies classes because of their fears and concerns. They felt awakened by these classes and were glad for the opportunity to learn more about war and peace. In this way the teacher serves a legitimate role in addressing students' needs to know more about war, peace, and violence.

This study demonstrates how widespread these concerns are within the United States. The respondents in this sample do not attend elite private universities. These sons and daughters of the middle and working classes in the Midwest have not been directly influenced by some of the peace cultures that exist in places like California and Colorado. As these students take their concerns with them into the world, the level of interest and awareness of these issues within the United States is bound to grow.

2. Knowledge of War and Peace Issues Can Be Paralyzing

The issues surrounding violence in the human community are so complex that they often induce a strange type of paralysis upon students. Many students who were concerned about the threats of war and peace felt, as a result of taking a class, that they had to study more before they became involved. Rather than compelling

them into action, these courses tend to raise their levels of awareness and increase their concern about these issues in a way that demands more knowledge. As a result, they were taking courses, attending lectures, and reading to learn more about these issues before they reached a conclusion about appropriate action.

3. The Effect of the Campus Environment

Peace studies courses are not offered in a vacuum. Students who are isolated may not know where to turn with their concerns. As one student put it, "It's not like there are billboards promoting peace organizations." At Missouri, an active anti-apartheid group on that campus provided an outlet for students who wanted to express their concerns about violence. Without such vehicles, individuals often feel powerless. Campus organizations with an active presence help make known various steps for bringing peace to this world. It would be assumed that on a campus with many active organizations working for peace that more students would themselves become involved.

4. The Fears of Peace Studies Detractors Don't Seem To Be Legitimate

People who oppose courses about nuclear weapons and peace argue that it's not a legitimate academic discipline because its too advocacy oriented, hoping to get students involved in overturning defense policies, while education should be teaching theory and not activity. This study shows that the activities pursued by students who have taken an undergraduate peace studies course include activities normally expected within a democratic society. Some students write letters and work for candidates, but the vast majority talk to their friends and try to learn more about the issues. A very small number increase their involvement in peace organizations, and the study showed a decrease in the percentage of students practicing civil disobedience.

Taking a peace studies course is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for becoming a peace activist. It is not necessary, because throughout history people have worked for peace who have never taken peace courses. Clearly, it is not a sufficient condition. Many other factors intervene that help determine whether a particular individual will choose to try to make the world less violent. These factors include educational factors not examined here--self-confidence, lifestyle, economics, career choices, etc. Follow-up interviews from this study suggest that an even more important factor than taking a course is peer group. If a particular individual has friends actively working for peace, then that individual is more likely to become involved than an individual whose peers don't. The conditions that help determine whether an individual will work for peace are extremely complex. A single peace studies course may have some influence, but the majority of students studied here do not change their activities because they have taken a single course. They continue to lead their lives very much as they had

before taking the class.

5. Peace Education Can Make a Difference

This study shows that as a result of taking a peace studies course, two in five students do something to promote peace. These activities do not necessarily challenge public policy and seem to fit more within the rubric of "new age consciousness" than "radical social change." Students report a new awareness of war and peace issues. Almost 60 percent indicated that they had changed their lifestyles in subtle ways that alter various aspects of their lives within their control. The students studied here find it difficult to know how to change public policy, but these students do talk to their friends and families about peace issues. This study does support an initial assumption that students who take peace studies courses will do some things to promote peace.

Peace education, like any other educational endeavor, plants a seed. The teacher often does not know what fruit this seed will bear, but the experience of this researcher is that planting these seeds germinates new ideas, where buds grow, pollinate and new embryos for peace are planted. Education is an important part of trying to bring peace to the world. Randall Forsburg, one of the leaders of the nuclear freeze movement, upon seeing the tremendous support that freeze issues generated in the American public, noticed that action alone was not enough. She stated that it would perhaps take 100 years of education to wean the American people away from their dependence upon nuclear weapons, and this struggle was essentially an educational one, where millions of people will have to talk to others, to convince them of the folly of a nuclear defense (Eckhardt, 1985).

Many people concerned about violence have recently turned to peace education to address many of the violent perils in the modern world, but peace education turns out to be a slow and tedious strategy to deter the many threats posed by violence. These people should realize that in a democracy, education implies voluntary change, where individuals who learn new facts, make commitments, and slowly over time change their own behavior and influence the communities they inhabit. These changes help challenge the violence of the status quo, but education for violence increases at a much faster pace.

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Appendix A: Follow-Up Peace Education Survey

The following questionnaire has been designed in order to understand what students learn from peace education courses. Your responses to this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. Would you please take ten minutes to complete this questionnaire? For questions 1-9 please circle the number that best indicates your response:

1. There is nothing the average person can do to decrease the threat of war because the government is in charge.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

2. I think the Soviet Union is a threat to world security.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

3. I think the United States is a threat to world security:

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

4. The United States should use military means to protect its investments overseas.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

5. The United States should unilaterally initiate a nuclear freeze.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

6. It may sometimes be necessary to use nuclear weapons first to defeat an enemy.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

7. A nation can increase its national security in the long run by acquiring more sophisticated nuclear weapons.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

8. On the following ten-point scale, indicate your feelings about the future:

I don't think there will be a future.	I am depressed about the future.	I worry about the future.	I am confident about the future.	I look forward to the future.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9. Indicate below how important you think the following problems facing our planet are:

	No Problem		Important		Extremely Urgent
Hunger	0	1	2	3	4	5
Energy	0	1	2	3	4	5
The Nuclear Threat	0	1	2	3	4	5
Racism	0	1	2	3	4	5
Money spent on weapons	0	1	2	3	4	5
Underdevelopment of Third World	0	1	2	3	4	5
Illiteracy	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sexism	0	1	2	3	4	5

	No Problem		Important		Extremely Urgent	
Pollution	0	1	2	3	4	5
Despair	0	1	2	3	4	5
Violence	0	1	2	3	4	5
Political Ideologies	0	1	2	3	4	5

For the following questions, please check the appropriate blank.

10. This past year with regard to obtaining information about issues of peace, war, and national security, I have:
    _Done nothing.
    _Read articles in newspapers and magazines.
    _Attended talks, lectures, etc.
    _Learned from friends.
    _Watched news programs, TV shows.
    _Learned from my family.
    _Read books.
    _Taken courses (Name _____).
    _Subscribed to peace journals.
    _Done my own research.
    _Other (Please specify _____).
11. Since taking this class, my activities concerning war and peace can best be characterized by which of the following statements:
    _I have done nothing.
    _I have tried to persuade my friends about the war threat.
    _I try to conduct my life in peaceful ways.
    _I have attended conferences and lectures on these topics.
    _I have participated in public demonstrations.
    _I have written letters about the dangers of war to my elected representatives.
    _I have been a member of a peace organization (Name_____).
    _I have practiced non-violent civil disobedience.
    _Other (Please specify _____).
12. The current United States Defense Budget should:
    _Increase _Remain the Same _Decreased.
13. On the following point scale indicate your political philosophy:

Progressive	Liberal	Middle of the Road	Republican	Conservative
1	2	3	4	5

    _ I have no political philosophy _ Anarchist
    _ Libertarian _ Other (Please indicate_____)
14. Compared to my activities prior to taking a peace studies course, I am now
    _More actively involved in peace activities.
    _Less involved in peace activities.

_The same level of involvement.
Why?

_____

_____

15. Answer either A or B.

A. What have you done to promote peace since you took a peace studies course?

_____

_____

_____

B. If you haven't done anything to promote peace, please explain why:

_____

_____

_____

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